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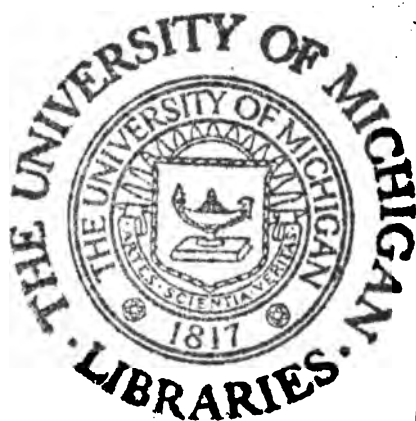
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THE

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THE OPINIONS AND SENTIMENTS
OF
HORACE GREELEY

ON

*Office Seeking—The Presidency—The Democratic Party—
Prominent Democrats, North and South—Secession and
Secessionists—War and Peace—Jefferson Davis
as President and Prisoner—Finance—
Fourierism—Temperance—Social Re-
form—Naturalized Citizens—
other Public Topics—
and Himself.*

“Oh! that record is lively in my soul.”—*Shakespeare.*

THE COMPILER TO THE READER.

"I have made frequent and copious citations from letters, speeches, messages, and other documents, many of which have not the merit of rarity; mainly because I could only thus present the views of political antagonists in terms which they must recognize and respect as authentic. In an age of passionate controversy few are capable even of stating an opponent's position in language that he will admit to be accurate and fair. And there are thousands who cannot realize that they ever held opinions and accepted dogmas to which they unhesitatingly subscribed less than ten years ago."—HORACE GREELEY, in the "*American Conflict*," page 9.

"To-day, the history of our country is found recorded in the columns of her journals more fully, promptly, vividly than elsewhere. More and more is this becoming the case with other countries throughout the civilized world. A history which takes no account of what was said by the Press in memorable emergencies befits an earlier age than ours."—HORACE GREELEY, in the "*American Conflict*," page 10.

"Which being taught, return to plague the inventor."—SHAKESPEARE.

WHAT HORACE GREELEY KNOWS

ABOUT

Politics—Office-Seeking—His own Continued Desire for Place—His own Disappointments and Revenges—Journalists who Crave Political Rewards—Running for President—The Liberal Republican Movement at Cincinnati—Democratic Intrigues, &c., &c., &c.

Why H. G. Became a Politician in his Childhood.

"An eager, omnivorous reader, especially of newspapers, from early childhood, I was an ardent politician when not half old enough to vote."—*Recollections of a Busy Life.*

What H. G. Knows about Office-Seeking Politicians.

"Incredible as it might seem, the fact is but too apparent, that there are men who aspire to be called Statesmen, whose love of country and regard for justice and truth are subordinate to their desire for political promotion and the 'loaves and fishes' of office, and who do not scruple to put in jeopardy the Peace of the World, if they thereby promote their selfish and personal ends."—*Tribune, March 10, 1846.*

What H. G. Knows about Editorial Candidates.

"It seems to us unwise in an Editor ever to allow his name to go before the public as a candidate for any party nomination. It is such an appalling consideration, that running for a prominent office puts you under obligation to so many thousand people, who feel that your gratitude can never equal their deserts, that we think an Editor, who is already indebted to so many thousands for taking his paper and inducing others to take it, should never voluntarily incur a further obligation. Life is too short for the discharge of such mountains of debt, and it were better to avoid contracting them."—*Tribune, August 5, 1858.*

What H. G. Knows about greediness for Place and for Political Office.

"It is indolence—rather indolence than avarice; indolence of mind, more than of body—that makes the world so greedy in our day for place, and for political office."—*Lecture, 1858.*

What H. G. Knew in 1854 about His continuous but unsuccessful aspirations for office since 1838, showing that in His opinion His running would have helped the ticket, and Helped His Paper.

NEW YORK, Saturday Evening, Nov. 11, 1854.

Gov. SEWARD: The election is over, and its results sufficiently ascertained. It seems to me a fitting time to announce to you the dissolution of the political firm of Seward, Weed, and Greeley, by the withdrawal of the junior partner—said withdrawal to take effect on the morning after the first Tuesday in February next. And, as it may seem a great presumption in me to assume that any such firm exists, especially since the public was advised, rather more than a year ago, by an editorial rescript in *The Evening Journal* formally reading me out of the Whig party, that I was esteemed no longer either useful or ornamental in the concern, you will, I am sure, indulge me in some reminiscences which seem to befit the occasion.

I was a poor young printer and Editor of a Literary Journal—a very active and bitter Whig in a small way, but not seeking to be known out of my own Ward Committee—when, after the great Political Revulsion of 1837, I was one day called to the City Hotel, where two strangers introduced themselves as Thurlow Weed and Lewis Benedict, of Albany. They told me that a cheap Campaign Paper of a peculiar stamp at Albany had been resolved on, and that I had been selected to edit it. The announcement might well be deemed flattering by one who had never even sought the notice of the great, and who was not known as a partisan writer; and I eagerly embraced their proposal. They asked me to fix my salary for the year; I named \$1,000, which

they agreed to; and I did the work required, to the best of my ability. It was work that made no figure, and created no sensation; but I loved it, and *I did it well*. When it was done, you were Governor, dispensing offices worth \$3,000 to \$20,000 per year to your friends and compatriots, and I returned to my garret and my crust, and my desperate battle with pecuniary obligations heaped upon me by bad partners in business and the disastrous events of 1837. I believe it did not then occur to me that *some one of these abundant places might have been offered to me without injustice*; I now think it should have occurred to you. If it did occur to me, I was not the man to ask you for it; I think that should not have been necessary. I only remember that no friend at Albany inquired as to my pecuniary circumstances; that your friend, (but not mine,) Robert C. Wetmore, was one of the chief dispensers of your patronage here; and that such devoted compatriots as A. H. Wells and John Hooks were lifted by you out of pauperism into independence, as I am glad I was not; and yet an inquiry from you as to my needs and means at that day would have been timely, and held ever in grateful remembrance.

In the Harrison campaign of 1840, I was again designated to edit a campaign paper. I published it as well, and ought to have made something by it, in spite of its extremely low price; my extreme poverty was the main reason why I did not. It compelled me to hire presswork, mailing, &c., done by the job, and high charges for extra work nearly eat me up. At the close I was still without property and in debt; but this paper had rather improved my position.

Now came the great scramble of the swell mob of coon minstrels and cider suckers at Washington,—*I not being counted in*. Several regiments of them went on from this city, but no one of the whole crowd—though I say it, who should not—had done so much towards Gen. Harrison's nomination and election as yours respectfully. I asked nothing, expected nothing; *but you, Gov. Seward, ought to have asked that I be Postmaster of New York*. Your asking would have been in vain, but it would have been an act of grace neither wasted nor undeserved.

I soon after started *The Tribune*, because I was urged to do so by certain of your friends, and because such a paper was needed here. I was promised certain pecuniary aid in so doing; it might have been given me without cost or risk to anyone. All I ever had was a loan by piece-meal of \$1,000 from James Coggeshall, God bless his honored memory! I did not ask for this, and I think it is the one sole case in which I ever received a pecuniary favor from a political associate. I am very thankful that he did not die till it was fully repaid.

And here let me honor one grateful recollection. When the Whig party under your rule had offices to give, *my name was never thought of*; but when in 1842-43 we were hopelessly out of power, I was honored with the party nomination for State Printer. When we came again to have a State Printer to elect as well as nominate, the place went to Weed, as it ought. Yet it is worth something to know, that there was once a time when it was not deemed too great a sacrifice to recognize me as belonging to your household. If a new office had not since been created on purpose to give its valuable patronage to H. J. Raymond, and enable St. John to show forth his *Times* as the organ of the Whig State Administration, I should have been still more grateful.

In 1848 your star again arose, and my warmest hopes were realized in your election to the Senate. I was no longer needy, and had no more claim than desire to be recognized by Gen. Taylor. I think I had some claim to forbearance from you. What I received thereupon was a most humiliating lecture, in the shape of a decision in the libel case of Redfield and Pringle, and an obligation to publish it in my own and the other journal of our supposed firm. I thought, and still think, this lecture needlessly cruel and mortifying. The plaintiffs, after using my columns to the extent of their needs or desires, stopped writing, and called on me for the name of their assailant. I proffered it to them,—a thoroughly responsible name. They refused to accept it, unless it should prove to be one of the four or five first men in Batavia!—when they had known from the first who it was, and that it was neither of them. They would not accept that which they had demanded; they sued me instead for money; and money you were at liberty to give them to your heart's content. I do not think you *were* at liberty to humiliate me in the eyes of my own and your public as you did. I think you exalted your own judicial sternness and fearlessness unduly at my expense. I think you had a better occasion for the display of these qualities when Webb threw himself untimely upon you for a pardon, which he had done all a man could do to merit. (His paper is paying you for it now.)

I have publicly set forth my view of your and our duty with respect to Fusion, Nebraska, and party designations. I will not repeat any of that. I have referred also to Weed's reading me out of the Whig party—my crime being in this, as in some other things, that of doing to-day what more politic persons will not be ready to do till to-morrow.

Let me speak of the late canvass. I was once sent to Congress for ninety days, merely to enable Jim Brooks to secure a seat therein for four years. *I think I never hinted to any human being that I would have liked to be put forward for any place*. But James W. White (you hardly know how good and true a man he is) started my name for Congress, and Brooks's packed delegation thought I could help him through, so I was put on behind him. But this last Spring, after the Nebraska question had created a new state of things at the North, one or two personal friends, of no political consideration, suggested my name as a candidate for Governor, and I did not discourage them. Soon, the persons who were afterward mainly instrumental in nominating Clark came about me, and asked if I could secure the Know-Nothing vote. I told them I neither could nor would touch it; on the contrary, I loathed and repelled it. Thereupon, they turned upon Clark.

I said nothing, did nothing. A hundred people asked me who should be run for Governor. I sometimes indicated Patterson; I never hinted at my own name. But by-and-by, Weed came down and called me to him, to tell me why he could not support me for Governor. (I had never asked nor counted on his support.)

I am sure Weed did not mean to humiliate me, *but he did it*. The upshot of his discourse (very cautiously stated) was this: If I were a candidate for Governor, I should beat not myself only, but you. Perhaps that was true. But, as I had in no manner solicited his or your support, I thought this might have been said to my friends, rather than to me. I suspect it is true that I could not have been elected Governor as a Whig. But had he and you been favorable, there *would* have been a party in the State, ere this, which could and would have elected me to any post, without injuring myself or endangering your re-election.

It was in vain that I urged that I had in no manner asked a nomination. At length I was nettled by his language—well intended, but *very* cutting, as addressed by him to me—to say, in substance, "Well, then, make Patterson Governor, and try my name for Lieutenant." To lose this place is a matter of no importance, and we can see whether I am really so odious."

I should have hated to serve as Lieutenant-Governor, but I should have gloried in running for the post. I want to have my enemies all upon me at once—I am fired of fighting them piecemeal. And, although I should have been beaten in the canvass, I know that my running would have helped the ticket and HELPED MY PAPER.

It was thought best to let the matter take another course. No other name could have been put upon the ticket so bitterly humbling to me as that which was selected. The nomination was given to Raymond—the fight left to me. And, Governor Seward, *I have made it*, though it be conceded in me to say so. What little fight there has been, I have stirred up. Even Weed has not been (I speak of his paper) hearty in this contest, while the journal of the Whig Lieutenant-Governor has taken care of its own interests and let the canvass take care of itself, as it early declared it would do. That journal has (because of its milk and water course) some twenty thousand subscribers in this city and its suburbs; and of these twenty thousand, I venture to say, more voted for Ullmann and Scroggs than for Clark and Raymond. THE TRIBUNE (also because of its character) has but eight thousand subscribers within the same radius; and I venture to say that, of its habitual readers, nine-tenths voted for Clark and Raymond, very few for Ullmann and Scroggs. I had to bear the brunt of the contest, and take a terrible responsibility, in order to prevent the Whigs uniting upon James W. Barker, in order to defeat Fernando Wood.* Had Barker been elected here, neither you nor I could walk these streets without being hooted, and Know-Nothingism would have swept like a prairie fire. I stopped Barker's election at the cost of incurring the deadliest enmity of the defeated gang, and I have been rebuked for it by the Lieutenant-Governor's paper. At the critical moment, he came out against John Wheeler in favor of Charles H. Marshall, (who would have been your deadliest enemy in the House;) and even your Colonel-General's paper, which was even with me in insisting that Wheeler should be returned, wheeled about at the last moment, and went in for Marshall, *The Tribune* alone clinging to Wheeler to the last. I rejoice that they who turned so suddenly were not able to turn all their readers.

Governor Seward, I know that some of your most cherished friends think me a great obstacle to your advancement—that John Schoolcraft, for one, insists that you and Weed shall not be identified with me. I trust, after a time, you will not be. I trust I shall never be found in opposition to you. I have no further wish but to glide out of the newspaper world as quietly and as speedily as possible, join my family in Europe, and, if possible, stay there quite a time—long enough to cool my fevered brain and renovate my overtasked energies. All I ask is that we shall be counted even on the morning after the first Tuesday in February, as aforesaid, and that I may thereafter take such course as seems best, without reference to the past.

You have done me acts of valued kindness in the line of your profession—let me close with the assurance that these will ever be gratefully remembered by

Yours,

HORACE GREELEY.

Hon. WM. H. SEWARD, present.

What H. G. Knows about Editors whose vanity leads them to chase after office.

"No doubt that occasional avidity with which members of the editorial profession are seen to pursue the loaves and fishes of office, is fostered by the too general desire to live by other means than honest work. Men easily take up ideas and tendencies which prevail around them; and where thousands of all avocations engage in the disgusting scramble, it is not surprising that here and there a journalist should be mingled with the crowd. But more frequently the desire for place is begotten in members of our profession from that superstitious respect for political position and dignity which has come down from darker times and obsolete forms of society. When there was no avenue to power, distinction and eminent usefulness, except through preferment in Church or State, generous and ambitious spirits naturally became priests or politicians; and then, out of the sacred office, the holder of a political post was the great man in fact and in public regard. But now this is all changed. Government in this country has sunk to be a subordinate agency, and statesmen are but clerks to register and execute the decrees of

*H. G. here admits having aided the election of Fernando Wood.

the people. Of that people the Press is the instructor, organ, and plenipotentiary. Wielding, directing, and inspiring the supreme power of Public Opinion, it governs Governors, legislates for Legislators, and judges Courts. Thus, in our view, it discharges more important and elevated functions than either of those branches of the social mechanism, and should be respected by its members accordingly. But all of them do not so understand it; all are not emancipated from the old political traditions; and, besides, it must be confessed that a merely selfish and egotistical ambition may find a more conspicuous satisfaction in a lower sphere. The journalist, after all, discharges a somewhat impersonal service; his newspaper may be known by his name, but he is necessarily associated with many other writers; and individual vanity never reaps a full harvest, however brilliant or powerful the newspaper may be. Accordingly, when we see a journalist abandoning his proper duty to chase after office, we may take it as a confession that he does not feel himself at home in the nobler profession and accordingly resorts to the inferior one."—*Tribune*, April 27, 1855.

How H. G. recommended himself to the administration as a friend of Clay who had denounced him, and advocated the Election of Harrison.

NEW YORK, Feb. 9, 1841.

"Col. C. S. TODD:

"MY DEAR SIR: I can claim no personal acquaintance with you; yet I think you will have heard of me as the Editor of *The Log Cabin*, and as implicated in various Political efforts before, at and after the Harrisburg Convention. I take the great liberty of writing to you because I have no personal acquaintance or intercourse with Gen. Harrison, and have not yet heard that any of my Ohio acquaintances have come on to Washington." * * * *

"I am one of the original, ardent friends of Mr. Clay, who, after the result of the Virginia Election in April, 1839, were driven to the conclusion that Mr. Clay *must* not be our candidate in 1840, unless we were bent on rushing to ruin. In June and July, 1839, I traveled through this State, Northern Ohio, Michigan, and home through Pennsylvania, PREACHING THIS DOCTRINE."

What H. G. Knows about John Tyler's coquetting with the Democrats, and what he admits to have done to aid him.

"I was the correspondent of the Madisonian before the Tyler apostacy, and for some time after the Bank Vetoes." * * * "I visited Washington, per invitation, in December, 1841, upon assurances that John Tyler and his advisers were disposed to return to the Whig party, and that I could be of service in bringing about a complete reconciliation between the Administration and the Whigs in Congress and in the country. I never proposed to connect myself with the cause of the Administration but upon the understanding that it should be heartily and faithfully a Whig Administration. I did write an article containing something about 'nine steps out of twelve,' referring directly and solely to the desired reconciliation between Mr. Tyler and the Whigs. I remember nothing of the use made of that article by Mr. Arnold afterwards, and of course am not responsible for that use. And finally I declined, utterly and absolutely, to connect myself with the cause of the Administration the moment I became satisfied, as I did during that visit, that the *Chief* of the Government did not desire a reconciliation, upon the basis of sustaining Whig principles and Whig measures, with the party he had so deeply wronged, but was treacherously coquetting with Loco-Focoism, and fooled with the idea of a re-election."—*Tribune*, June 29, 1843.

What H. G. Knows would have elected Henry Clay and Helped his Paper.

"Looking back through almost a quarter of a century on that Clay canvass of 1844, I say deliberately that it should not have been lost—that it need not have been. I, for example, was in the very prime of life—thirty-three years old—and knew how to write for a newspaper; and I printed in that canvass one of the most effective daily political journals ever yet issued. It was sold for two cents, and it had 15,000 daily subscribers when the canvass closed. It should have had 100,000 from the first day onward—and *My Clay Tribune*, a campaign weekly, issued six months for fifty cents—should have had not less than a quarter of a million."—*Recollections of a Busy Life*.

What H. G. Knows about a Soldier-President.

"I think I never saw General Taylor save for a moment at the Inauguration Ball, on the night after his accession to the Presidency. I was never introduced, and never wrote to him; and, while I ultimately supported and voted for him, I did not hurry myself to secure his election. He was a man of little education or literary culture, but of signal good sense, coolness, and freedom from prejudice. Few trained and polished statesmen have proved fitter depositaries of civil power than this rough soldier, whose life had been largely passed in camp and bivouac, on the rude outskirts of civilization, or in the savage wastes far beyond it. General Taylor died too soon for his country's good, but not till he had proved himself a wise and good ruler, if not even a great one."—*Recollections of a Busy Life*.

What H. G. Knows about a Man's "Remembering his Friends."

"If anybody is disposed to grumble that the President ordinarily chooses from his own side of the house, we beg leave to dissent. When he [Mr. Fillmore] was Vice-President, his word did not go far in the matter of appointments; now he is President, let him, to a liberal extent, remember his friends. This is a revolving planet, so that every one gets on the sunny side in his turn. That is fair."—*Tribune*, October 2, 1850.

What H. G. Knows about giving Political Victors the Spoils.

"When the Whigs came into power, what did Justice and the Public Good require of them? Would it have been right to continue the monopoly of office by those who were now a minority of the People, and certainly could not claim any preponderance of capacity, integrity, or merit? How were we to 'proscribe Proscription?' By saying to its contrivers and authors: 'We concede you a monopoly of the offices forever; you have them now, we shall continue them in your hands while we have the power, and when you triumph again, you will have them, of course?' Will any man say that this was the proper course to be taken? Would it not have been a severe trial for poor Human Nature? Possibly the Whigs might have so benefited the country by inevitably sacrificing themselves. But they chose rather to follow the precept and example of Mr. Jefferson, who said, in substance, on coming into office: 'I should have been satisfied had I found a part of the offices in the hands of the majority, but I find all monopolized for years by the Federalists, of whom few die, none resign. I shall, therefore, make changes.'"—*Tribune*.

What H. G. Knows that he did, as a Delegate from Oregon, to defeat Gov. Seward in the Chicago Convention.

"It is grossly untrue that at Chicago I commended myself to the confidence of delegates 'by professions of regard and the most zealous friendship for Gov. Seward, but presented defeat, even in New York, as the inevitable result of his nomination.'" * * * "This is exactly what I did. When a New Yorker declared, in the open Hall of the Tremont House, that 'everybody admits that Gov. Seward is the leader and representative man of the Republican party,' I as openly responded 'No, sir; here is one who does not admit it. He is one of the leading men of our party; but there are others as deserving as he is,' or words to that effect. Hundreds heard this; thousands heard me at all times and in all places repel the suggestion that Gov. Seward had or could have any special claims to the nomination."—*Tribune*, May 25, 1860.

What H. G. Knew about preventing President Lincoln's re-election.

"The practical question, then, is this: Has Mr. Lincoln proved so transcendently able and admirable a President that all consideration of the merits, abilities, and services of others should be postponed or forborne in favor of his re-election? This is a question whereon, pending the definite selection of our candidates, there should be the utmost freedom of opinion and expression. We answer it in the negative. Heartily agreeing that Mr. Lincoln has done well, we do not regard it as at all demonstrated that Gov. Chase, Gen. Frémont, Gen. Butler, or Gen. Grant cannot do as well. We freely admit Mr. Lincoln's merits, but we insist that they are not such as to eclipse and obscure those of all the statesmen and soldiers who have aided in the great work of saving the country from disruption and overthrow."—*Tribune*, February 23, 1864.

What H. G. Knew about the German opposition to President Lincoln's re-election.

"Whoever has watched the movements now going on among the Liberal German citizens of the United States cannot have failed to see that there is among them a wide-spread and powerful opposition to the re-election of President Lincoln. We need only to refer to some facts in the history of the past few months in order to prove that this opposition has assumed dimensions which cannot be ignored in the coming Presidential campaign. There are, of course, among the German population those whose first choice for the Presidency is President Lincoln. But a careful observation of the liberal German press and the German conventions and meetings for several months past leads us to believe that the opposition to President Lincoln's re-nomination not only prevails among the German Liberals to a large extent, but that a portion of the party would even refuse to vote for Mr. Lincoln if he should be renominated by the National Nominating Convention."—*Tribune*, February 27, 1864.

What H. G. Knew about Loyalty to Party in 1864.

"Our general idea of the matter is this, that, until the choice of Union candidates for President and Vice-President shall have been definitely made, the field is entirely open, and every Unionist is at perfect liberty to propose and advocate any Unionist who may be his individual preference. One desires the renomination of the present incumbents; another would renominate the President, but not the Vice-President; a third would renominate the latter, but not the former; a fourth would present new candidates for both positions. Each Unionist, then,

is invited and encouraged to name the men of his choice, and to commend their nomination by adducing such facts and arguments as to him shall seem cogent and effective, with a tacit understanding that we all say and do nothing that shall preclude a hearty and effective support of whatever ticket shall ultimately be presented. All who choose having spoken and been heard, the Convention assembles, gives heed to every representation, and finally decides as it shall deem best; and then we all turn in and elect the ticket. Such is our idea of the way in which this matter should be dealt with."—*Tribune*, April 1, 1864.

What H. G. Knew in 1868 about wanting to be President of the United States.

"Mr. Webster was not only a gentleman, but he had the elements of moral greatness, and he had faults as well. He failed only in one respect, and in this respect I differ from him—he wanted to be President and I don't. But for that one misfortune he would have been the greatest man America ever produced. We have seen our greatest man, Mr. Chase, making the same blunder. I have seen men who had the disease early and died of it at a very old age. General Lewis Cass died at about 82, and up to the day of his death he wanted to be President. No one ever escapes who once catches the disease; he lives and dies in the delusion. Being a reader and an observer at an early age, I saw how it poisoned and paralyzed the very best of our public men, and I have carefully avoided it."—*Horace Greeley's Speech at Quebec*.

What H. G. Knew in 1858 about the selection of a Presidential candidate.

"There are probably five hundred to a thousand stirring, scheming, eager politicians in the country, each of whom is ambitious and hopeful of the honor, in whole or in part, of inventing the next President. The *TRIBUNE* has no candidate for President. To us, men are but instruments whereby principles may be commended and beneficent measures advanced. If there be any man who would desire our support for the Presidency in defiance of our convictions that another than he could probably obtain more votes for our common cause, then that man is unworthy of such support. When the proper time shall have arrived, we shall carefully survey the field, and fix on that man who, among all who are worthy and qualified, seems likely to secure the largest vote in behalf of our cherished principles. That man we shall support, unless and at all events until our choice is overruled in a National Republican Convention."—*Tribune*.

What H. G. Knows about Sam. Bowles and other "Independent" Journalists.

"That what styles itself an 'independent' Journal is inevitably a fraud, we have long felt and known. The essence of its profession is an assumption of indifference to the ascendancy of this or the opposite party, which does not exist. In a free State, whereof the people are intelligent, no Journalist is or can be indifferent, and an affectation of impartiality necessarily cloaks some selfish and sinister design."—*Tribune*, January 3, 1871.

What H. G. asserted about Himself and his Associates in the Tribune.

"We don't believe any '*Tribune* stockholders' were ever among the loudest and most offensive claimants for fat gun contracts, nor for any contracts whatever; though, as any one may become a '*Tribune* stockholder' who chooses to pay for a share of the stock, we cannot speak positively. From the time of Mr. Lincoln's first nomination till this moment, the Editor of *The Tribune* has sought neither office, nor honors, nor contracts, nor emoluments of any kind, from the Federal Executive, nor from any of his subordinates, and has in no manner profited by their favor, unless the payment for public advertising in these columns is regarded as a favor."—*Tribune*, January 22, 1866.

What H. G. Advises Doubting and Treacherous Republicans to do.

"The Republican party has suffered quite enough from those who wear its uniform in order to fire more effectually into its ranks. If you cannot support men of undoubted ability and good character who are its candidates, your hearts are elsewhere, and your legs should follow them. Choose your future position for yourselves, but let it be on one side or on the other."—*Tribune*, December 13, 1870.

What H. G.'s Opinions were about the coming Presidential Election.

"The nomination of our candidate should be a matter of deliberate, dispassionate calculation. The delegations from those States in which the great battle is to be won or lost should be chosen from their most discreet, discerning, intelligent citizens, and should be above the suspicion of being any man's men. They should not expect to have the naming of candidates confided entirely to them; but they ought to have a veto on those selected by others. If New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Indiana, and Illinois should unitedly say, 'We cannot carry' this or that statesman, then another should be selected; and he should be one of those whom these States, or a majority of them, believe they can carry. We have no moral right to brave the hazard of defeat in such a struggle as this in order to gratify any man's aspirations, or the partiality of his friends."—*Tribune*, December 31, 1859.

What H. G. Thinks about Personal Dislike to the Candidate of a Party.

"We shall neither be tempted nor provoked to bandy epithets with those who seize the opportunity afforded by the unwise and premature opening of the Presidential canvass to ventilate their bad manners, or gratify their ill-will by indulging in personal imputations and criminalations. Caring much more for the cause than for any man, we have no shadow of objection to a free and friendly discussion of the respective merits of those who may, on one hand or the other, be suggested as Union candidates for next President."—*Tribune*, March 1, 1864.

What H. G.'s Estimate of the position of President is.

"The President is becoming more and more an unimportant person, and the time will be when his office will be so curtailed of weight, that he will be suffered to accept or decline the compliment of drinks, to come and go, to travel almost unnoticed and unknown, except by a few beggarly office-seeking fellows who would dog the steps of any one with a bone to throw to them. This absolute equality is a thing new to history, save in our own national case. Washington as President exhibited a certain state, Jefferson broke it down; and since his time, notwithstanding the dispensations within the gift of the President, and the miserable swarm of vermin seeking to live at the public cost have increased, while the amount of money he controls is equal to all belonging to all the sovereigns of Europe a few years since, yet the importance of his *status* has dwindled so that it is deemed no breach of decorum to accost him in every way like the simplest citizen; and a volley of eggs at his head—the direst ruffianism of a personal assault—can call forth no further expressions of remark or regret than would attend the same violation of decency practised toward any other well-bred and respectable person."—*Tribune*, August 10, 1854.

How H. G. Suggested that he had never received the Degree of LL.D.

The State Register will oblige us by contradicting the erroneous report that the Editor of the *Tribune* has been dubbed a Doctor of Laws. That is a title to which he never made any pretensions. Had he been declared a Doctor of Lawmakers, or even of lawyers, the report would have had far more plausibility. He may have attempted something in the way of doctoring our Capital Punishment, Land Monopoly, Liquor License, and other such laws; but it is most unlikely that any college would lavish valuable sheep-skin upon him on that account. The report is evidently the "weak invention" of some joker, who wished to see how improbable a fiction might gain currency in the absence of contradiction."—*Tribune*, August 26, 1853.

What H. G. Professed as his Devotion for Republican Principles.

"The large mass of transcendental ascetics refuse to co-operate with the Republicans. They prefer to waste their strength upon impalpable issues and impracticable leaders. But, just enough of them claim fellowship with us to frighten the timid and mislead the credulous by crying 'Don't lower the standard!' whenever men quite as honest and a good deal wiser than themselves attempt so to conduct the pending Presidential contest that it will result in a glorious victory instead of a disastrous defeat. As for ourselves, so fond are we of Republican principles that we eagerly desire to see them elevated to the most conspicuous positions in the land. So beneficent do we regard them, that we are exceedingly anxious to see them controlling the policy and shaping the destinies of the country. Through so many weary years, and sometimes almost despairingly, have we advocated them, that defeat in the present struggle would somewhat shake our faith in human progress."—*Tribune*, August 8, 1859.

What H. G. Thought cured him of a desire for Executive Promotion.

"Throughout the four years of Gov. Seward's Administration, but especially during his first two winters, we spent much time in Albany, and had opportunities to see something of the troops of office-seekers who besieged the Executive Chamber. They were of all kinds—good, bad, and indifferent; but there was a far larger proportion of rapacity and unprincipled selfishness than they left behind them in the quiet, unambitious people, into whose service they coaxed, and bored, and wheedled, and blustered to be taken. We asked nothing, expected nothing, wished nothing, personally or for any of our kin: yet if we had been ambitious of Executive promotion, what we there saw of office-seeking would have cured us forever."—*Tribune*, April 30, 1845.

What H. G. Thought of his Political Friends who secured the election of a Democrat.

"Shout forth your joy Abolitionists! for your efforts, your votes, have powerfully contributed to fasten on the Country a South Carolina dynasty, which recognizes a fortification and perpetuation of Slavery as one of the first objects of our Federal compact, and, to this end, the Annexation of Texas to this country—no matter at what cost of unjust War, or broken Faith,

or doubled Taxes, or the world's intense scorn, as a chief object of our National Policy."—*Tribune* November 13, 1814.

What H. G. Decided to do if the Cincinnati Convention did not endorse Protection.

Certain Journals speculate on the probability that *The Tribune* would support this or that candidate if nominated at Cincinnati. They have no data and no warrant for saying that we should object to any of the persons named. We have said that, if the Convention should see fit to place its candidate on a platform hostile to the Protection of Home Industry, it would thereby preclude our supporting them; and yet we have not said that we might not wisely do what would constrain us to oppose their candidates. If a majority of the American People want Free Trade they ought to have it, no matter though this or that individual be displeased thereat. In that case candidates who respond to the general aspiration can do without the support of this or that newspaper. We have only urged the Convention to use language that unequivocally expresses its meaning; if that meaning be Free Trade, let there be no mistake and no dispute about it.—*Tribune*, May 1, 1872.

What H. G.'s Chicago Supporters said of his connection with Tammany.

"A foolish concern at Chicago, which does its worst to disgrace the name of *Tribune*, thus airs its malignity and mendacity: 'Divide and conquer is the policy of the Tammany-Erie thieves toward the press of New York City. A formidable rebellion against the corruptions of Tammany has broken out in the Democratic party, and, for the first time in many years, there is an opportunity of accomplishing a reform with an assured prospect of success. One would think that *The Tribune*, which has pretended to follow honesty for a living, would rush to embrace this opportunity of overthrowing its seeming enemy in its own stronghold. But, in reality, *The New York Tribune* has for a long time slept in the same trundlebed with the Tammany gang, and shared their spoils and corporation advertising, to the great profit of the publishing department, while the editorial department ventilated its virtue in very guarded exposures of the very small defects of the City government.'

"*Comment by the Tribune*. What is the pretext for the above attack on us? We can imagine none, unless it be our hesitation to indorse and commend those Democrats who are in hot pursuit of the scalps of Sweeny, Tweed & Co., with fair prospects of success."—*Tribune*, March 1, 1870.

What H. G. Thought in 1854 about National Conventions.

"That National Conventions have already fallen into discredit with the People, there needs no ghost from the grave to reveal: that they are destined to be condemned, proscribed, discarded, it needs no prophet to foresee. That they are substantially gatherings of office-seekers, mining and countermining to secure their own advancement respectively, is already very generally understood. We know it is not so generally apprehended that the strongest and worthiest men have hardly a chance in such a gathering—that the weakest and least scrupulous aspirant stands by far the best chance of a nomination. To make a silk purse of a sow's ear is proverbially a difficult achievement—far more so than to stamp a piece of precious metal with the devices which simply declare its value, creating none. Now the eager, needy politicians who form the staple of a National Convention are quite aware that the candidate whom they may make will, if chosen President, owe far more to them, and be likely to evince a deeper gratitude, than one whom they, echoing the People's voice, simply proclaim. And besides, great men have convictions, prepossessions, a past, and present some sharp curves and angles to the public observation: they are on the record as having acted decisively and influentially at great epochs in the Nation's history: they can not so easily as the timid and obscure mediocrities be commended as having been on whichever side of a great sectional or other distracting question happens to be popular in the locality where the representation is made. So long as these Conventions of spoil-hunters shall be permitted in effect to choose two persons, of whom one must inevitably be the President, we must expect to have feeble, trimming Chief Magistrates at least three terms in four."—*Tribune*, January 7, 1854.

What H. G. Knew about what he might have accomplished in the Senate.

Mr. Dana's opinion that I would have been a much more important personage and that my views would have exerted more influence had I throughout the last four years been in office, is natural, perhaps, in one who has just descended from that lofty eminence. For my own part, I cannot realize that my being in or out of the Senate would have made any serious difference to the country or to me. I should doubtless, in any position, have done what I could to secure the National renovation at the smallest possible cost of blood and treasure. A life-long hater of War and lover of Peace, holding that those involved in hostilities should repel no overture that promises an honorable and safe adjustment of differences, I might not have rudely repelled, though I certainly should not have invoked, the good offices even of Louis Napoleon.—*Tribune*, September 4, 1865.

What H. G. Knew in 1870 about the Free Trade Workers.

"Every Republican Journal or speaker who decries Protection is recognized by the Democrats as making votes for their next Presidential ticket. Every emissary of the Free Trade League is just as venomous against the President and the Republicans as he can venture to be without displaying too boldly the cloven foot of the great original Secessionist and Democrat. He who does not see whereto all this tends must have eyes to little purpose. As yet, the Republicans have slept while the enemy sowed tares. The Free Traders have a manufactory of tracts and a staff of canvassers to which a clear field has most universally been accorded. We ought long since to have organized to counteract these agencies; but everybody's business is nobody's, and they have been allowed to poison the public mind unresisted. If we mean to live and not die, it is high time that we aroused and prepared to give the masses reasons for the faith that is in us. A year hence, it may be entirely too late."—*Tribune*, October 17, 1870.

What H. G. Knew about his own prospects for Election.

"*The Evening Post* urges the electors of the VIth Congress District not to vote for Horace Greeley, but to support instead Samuel S. Cox. Reason—Greeley believes in Protecting Home Industry, while Cox favors Free Trade. *The Post*, for this identical reason, asked the electors to vote against Henry Clay for President, supporting instead James K. Polk. The wards now composing the VIth District then rejected *The Post's* advice, and gave a handsome majority for Henry Clay. Now, they will do as they shall see fit."—*Tribune*, November 3, 1870.

The Evening Post makes an unreasonable pother of going over to the Sham Democracy. Having resolved to go, and let the public see that it is going, it should "stand not on the order of its going, but go at once." Its heart and its treasure being both in the camp of the anti-Republican, negro-crushing coalition, it should convey its body thither directly, and not persist in making feints whereby no one is deceived, and affecting hesitations and dubitations which only provoke contempt.—*Tribune*, July 11, 1866.

What H. G. Knows about the Popular Wish for Grab-Bag Candidates.

"The people are not in the mood for trying any grab-bag experiments. They will insist on having a President who fully knows his own mind with regard to the political situation, and who has not essentially another mind from theirs. They have once or twice taken candidates on trust, and have not been encouraged to repeat the venture."—*Tribune*, July 30, 1867.

What H. G. Predicted about the coming Presidential Election.

"We have heard it remarked that, should the elections of 1872 copy those of 1870, a Democrat would be chosen President. But that is a miscalculation. Missouri was not carried by the Democrats in 1870, but by the Schurz and Gratz Brown Republicans; but we assume that enough of these will probably go clear over to put the State against us in '71. We trust they will get sick of their strange company, and come back in season for '72. Oregon went Democratic in 1870, by a far smaller majority than at her State election of '68; yet, when she came to vote for President, she gave Seymour but 164 majority over Grant. We drifted astern much further in '62 than in '70, but more than recovered our lost ground when we came to a Presidential year, when almost every legal voter comes to the front. We purpose to repeat the dose in 1872."—*Tribune*, January 24, 1871.

How H. G. Felt it necessary to Proclaim his Innocence, "que s'excuse, s'accuse."

"I, Horace Greeley, do solemnly declare and affirm that I have been a partner in no contract, job, or undertaking of any sort, with, to, or for the Government of this State, or of the United States, since Abraham Lincoln became President; and that, except by the publication of advertisements in *The Tribune* at the usual and regular prices charged to advertisers generally, I have made no dollar of money out of either or any Government, whether by job, contract, commission, or otherwise. HORACE GREELEY."—*Tribune*, June 25, 1864.

What H. G. Thought about the result of declining the Mission to Austria.

"The Hon. Daniel S. Dickinson, says Washington gossip, has declined any appointment at the hands of this Administration. If Mr. Dickinson has refused a Mission because he wants no office henceforth, it proves him a wiser man than we had supposed. But if, on the other hand, Mr. Dickinson has declined a Mission because he still hankers for the Presidency, and fancies this the way to improve his chances, then he is—with reverence be it spoken—a more in venerate donkey than we in our bitterest days supposed him. The chance of climbing the dizzy ladder whereby the White House is scaled seldom comes to any man but once; once missed, it is missed forever. 'Out of sight, out of mind,' is more emphatically the rule in politics than elsewhere; and Presidents are rarely or never chosen from among shelved politicians. Neither the Slave power nor any other chooses a candidate on account of past services; it asks not,

'What has he done?' but 'What can he do for us?' and Douglas, Marcy, Orr, Letcher, George W. Jones, Andrew Johnson, Jeff. Davis, Bright, Rusk, and forty others, stand a better chance for the Presidential nomination than Dickinson. These be sober truths; and we have no motive but their truth for stating them. If Mr. D. still hankers for the Presidency, let him recall his declension and go in for an office—a good one, if possible—but better a poor one than none. Even the affectation of a preference for private life is distrusted and unpopular in these stirring times, when 'Look out for No. 1' is the only maxim in universal currency."—*Tribune*, May 27, 1857. [H. G. subsequently declined the Mission to Austria.]

What H. G. Knows about Restoring the Lost Cause.

"There are doubtless some men and more women who deplore the changes of the last twelve years. They would gladly return to what seems to them the golden age of the republic, when ladies needed not to parley with and humor their nurses and chambermaids, and when every gentleman's right to 'larrup his own nigger' was beyond question. But even these are fully conscious that the shadow will never recede on the dial—that what has been can never return. Pride of opinion and reluctance to confess defeat may sometimes impel them to talk foolishly, but their idle vamping is of just as much consequence as that of the maiden sisters who died a few years since in their native New Jersey, proud to the last that they had ever been faithful subjects of His Majesty George III (under whose reign they were born) and his lawful successors on the British throne. If 'The Lost Cause' shall ever be seriously revived by the losers, the winners will be compelled to fight their battles o'er again. Until then it were absurd on our part to renew the contests of 1860-'64-'68. Let the dead rest, unless they should insist on rattling their bones in their coffins so as to annoy and impede the workers above ground. For the present, we decline to admit that what has been well done during the past ten years can possibly be undone."—*Tribune*, April 25, 1872.

What H. G. Knows about Political Alliances.

"Touchstone, who was philosopher as well as courtier and poet, told Rosalind in the Forest of Arden the great truth in natural history, when he said that 'cat will after kind.' It is true, not only in natural history, but in political as well, and applies to dirty dogs, as well as to cleanly cats. If there were any doubt on this point, the skeptic would have only to turn his eyes to the City of Boston to have it forever removed. The remnant of the Boston Whigs there have at last coupled with their natural mates. They used to turn up their noses, as if they smelt something unsavory, when they met a Democrat, and looked upon them all as one, as the mire under their feet. And the Democrats regarded the Whigs with an answering aversion. But now they have rushed into one another's arms, and sworn eternal fidelity. Like the souls which are said to be dropped from heaven well mated, but which are often widely separated in their descent, they have been long divided. But like those happy spirits which, after long separation and tedious search, at last find each other, they have mingled into one in a harmonious marriage—of which we sincerely trust that there may be no divorce forever."—*Tribune*, November 3, 1856.

What H. G. Knows about the Off Year in Politics.

"This is the Off Year in politics. Men whose patriotism barely suffices to take them to the polls when a President, or when at least a Governor and Members of Congress are to be chosen, will not come out this Fall. The great army of disappointed Office-seekers and selfish aspirants to live on the public will also contribute vastly to the legions of sulky stay-at-homes. Gen. Grant, lacking the miraculous power which fed multitudes to repletion on a few small loaves and fishes, has offended these patriots beyond the hope of present forgiveness."—*Tribune*, October 11, 1869.

What H. G. Knew about the Crop of Presidential Candidates.

"Crops are as essential to nations as to birds. They cannot live without them. Not only wealth but life—not merely the pocket but the belly—subsists by their grace alone. No wonder, then, that crops should be a matter of eager interest and earnest speculation. Not only our bank accounts, (those of us who are lucky enough to have any,) or our foreign debts, but the very bread and meat on our tables depend on them. How happy are we, then, in this country, to have one crop that never fails—a harvest that is never wanting, though sometimes a little *spindling*. All else may give out—the cotton crop, the tobacco crop, the corn crop, the hay crop, the hog crop, yea, even the negro crop may fail—but the President crop is ever safe. Summer and Winter, seed-time and harvest, cold and heat, day and night may cease, but Presidents and Presidential candidates will never perish from off the earth. The tree of our liberties, like the orange tree, glows with blossoms and buds in every stage of forwardness, ready when that divine perfection of the fruitage on the topmost branch shall drop in its due time, goldenly to crown the plant whose leaves are for the healing of the nations. But to dismount from our allegory before it becomes as headstrong as those Mrs. Malaprop 'tells of on the banks of the

Nile,' is it not comforting to think that, considering the Presidency is an office nobody wants there should be so many a Curtius ready to leap into the gulf which yawns in our Forum every four years, rather than it should gape there forever?—men who take the office as Benedick took Beatrice, upon great compulsion, 'and partly to save her life.' It is enough to bring tears into one's eyes to read the self-denying letters of the confessors who are tenderly entreated to submit themselves to this martyrdom. They one and all exclaim, with the fierce despair which extorted from the recalcitrant churchman the expostulation '*Nolo episcopari*,' 'I won't be a President!'—when the dreadful notion is first suggested to their minds. They 'shudder at the gross idea' as the Princess Anncamunca, in the tragedy of Tom Thumb the Great, does at that of 'a man.' And yet, at last, rather than that the Republic should suffer detriment—for the sake of their party, of their country, of mankind—they yield, they submit to be led, reluctant victims, in the direction of the White House. Good, generous souls!"—*Tribune*, December 14, 1855.

What H. G. Knew about the Frank Bird Faction of Massachusetts.

"Twenty-five gentlemen, calling themselves 'the Republican Party of Massachusetts,' assembled in Boston on Thursday last, to declare their own faith, and to emit a pronouncement addressed to the people of the State. It must be admitted that there have been more numerous and imposing meetings. It may not be very fair or generous to grin at so small a body with such great pretensions, but the temptation to do so is almost irresistible. We are inevitably reminded of bantam cocks, of Tom Thumb, of Sir Jeffrey Hudson, the truculent dwarf, of Charles II. Having been ourselves not seldom in an attenuated minority, we are not over-disposed to snub the day of small things. But when we consider the mature and well-defined Anti-Slavery sentiment of Massachusetts, so predominant and genuine that it has swept before it party after party, and given tone to all legislation for nearly ten years, we are not willing to admit that an organization which can only send twenty-five delegates to a State Convention embraces all that is honest and trustworthy in the Commonwealth. Such factions, although numbering, perhaps, some well-meaning men, are very apt to be only factions—disagreeing with the main body mainly upon points indifferent. The split is always, or almost always, the result of personal dislikes. It never transcends the dignity of a private quarrel. It is like a faction fight at an Irish fair. To make a schism respectable, it must have numbers; not because it is impossible for two men to be in the right, and twenty thousand in the wrong, but because such a contingency is not very probable. Therefore, when Mr. F. W. Bird and twenty-four others claim to represent the veritable Anti-Slavery sentiment of one of the most decided of Anti-Slavery States, the thing is as funny as a farce."—*Tribune*, October 19, 1857.

What H. G. Knows about an Honest Declaration of Principles.

"If the President has cast in his lot with the Copperheads, he ought to say so frankly. He cannot at once win their confidence and retain that of the party which elected him. He must take his stand with one or the other, helping to fight its battles and sharing its prosperous or adverse fortunes. If his heart is with the Union party, he must stop plowing with all manner of strange heifers and act as he feels. If it is with the adversary, as now seems probable—he should in common fairness announce the fact, and let the public act as its judgment shall dictate. There is no middle ground; and there should be an end of disguise and equivocation. We shall very gladly hear that the President proposes to act henceforth with the Union party; but, if he has concluded to act with its adversaries, he owes it at least a prompt and frank avowal of the truth."—*Tribune*, March 5, 1866.

What H. G. Knows about Riding two Political Horses at once.

"The man who tried to sit on two stools, and failed—the donkey which, perplexed by the rival attractions of two different stacks of hay, stood irresolute between them and starved—the bold captain in the Beggar's Opera, who, allured at once by two diverse loves, sings 'How happy could I be with either, Were'to'ther dear charmer away,' unite to read a lesson which the Democratic managers should take to heart as a warning. They are in danger of being sent to Coventry while they are making up their minds whether to cut in for a share of the Negro vote or eschew it altogether. In fact, the party is just now in the state of the short-legged chicken with two heads and four legs, none of which could be made available because of the perverse action of the others."—*Tribune*, April 19, 1870.

What H. G. Knows about an Honest Candidate for the Presidency.

"It is idle to hope that the gravest and most imminent questions of the hour may be blinked, and a candidate for President found who will satisfy the requirements and secure the votes at once of those who hold that all men were created equal, and of those who, on the contrary, hold that Blacks have no rights which Whites are bound to respect. The silent multitude, who do not figure as officers at political meetings, but whose votes count heavily in an official canvass, will be sure that they are not betraying principle, in subservience to an office-hunting expediency, before they deposit their ballots."—*Tribune*, December 5, 1867.

What H. G. Knows about Democracy's Stooping to Conquer.

"Negro-phobia is studiously fomented by our swindling Democracy, so that if a dozen black men should venture into a Democratic City Meeting to listen to the eloquence there poured forth in glorification of Human Freedom and Equality, they would be kicked down stairs in short order. Yet still we believe Public sentiment is fast outgrowing the Paganism of the Church and the Aristocracy of Democracy. And if the Railroads and Stages should once get Christianized in this respect, there would be hope that the Churches might, in time, be shamed into following the example. As to what vaunts itself 'Democracy,' that is more incorrigible, but it, too, will knuckle to a purified Public Sentiment. Only let it be understood that more votes can be obtained by Negrophilism than by Negro-phobia, and Fred. Douglass will be called to address a Ratifying Convention in Tammany Hall, with two or three of Africa's ablest sons for Vice-Presidents."—*Tribune*, September 7, 1850.

What H. G. Knew about a Coalition in Massachusetts.

"We congratulate the people of Massachusetts on the discomfiture of this Appleton-Hallett-Winthrop-Greene faction. The people have put their foot upon it and crushed its malignant life out of it. The union of the political dregs, of the rich and of the poor, has failed of its designed effect. The coalition of the Puritans and the Blacklegs, of Blifel and Black George, has come to naught. The crushed reptiles may turn and yet strive to sting the foot that has squelched them; but the great fact of their failure of a triumphant success, after all their humiliations, their expenditures, and their painstaking, is the sentence of their political death. They are, at any rate, left for execution, and only await the leisure of the hangman."—*Tribune*, November 8, 1856.

What H. G. Knows about his Political Aspirations in 1860-'62.

"Mr. Weed charged that I was for Wadsworth in 1862, because I wanted to be a candidate for U. S. Senator before the Legislature then to be chosen. I answered that I was charged by *The World*, during the summer of '62, with wishing to be a candidate for Governor or Senator, and I promptly replied that I would accept neither, nor any office whatever—all which the sequel proved true. But, he says, you were a candidate for Senator before the Legislature chosen in 1860. Certainly I was, but through no effort or agency of my own. 'Why,' he says, 'Mr. Dana and Mr. Cleveland, who were then of *The Tribune*, supported you.' That is quite likely. I was absent in Illinois and Wisconsin throughout the canvass; Mr. Cleveland is my brother-in-law, and was our correspondent in Albany, and would be apt to support me. But Mr. Dana, I understand, is no longer my friend, and he knows whether I had any part whatever in the selection of the anti-Weed candidate for Senator in that contest."—*Tribune*, August 28, 1865.

What H. G. Knows about third parties.

"Mr. Doolittle's letter on the Third Party is apparently intended to prove his own great value to any party he may consent to serve. The only corps of which Mr. Doolittle can fairly be considered a leader, is that represented by Thénardier in Victor Hugo's *Les Misérables*, who prowled about the battle-fields to plunder the dead and wounded, and march indifferently after one army or the other for the sake of the spoils. The Conservative Republicans are all going for Grant, as Mr. Doolittle himself would if he were only a little braver, and the place of the Senator is not at the head of any corps, but with the sutlers and camp-followers in the rear."—*Tribune*, July 18, 1868.

What H. G. Knows of Candidates' Opinions on Protection.

"Mr. Patterson, the Loco-Foco candidate, attempted the old game of point-no-point. He was for incidental Protection, a judicious Tariff, and all that, after the manner of Gov. Cleveland and company. But this game has had its day. The Producers of this country will never be deceived by it again. There is a moral in this victory, which we trust our friends everywhere will take to heart. The Whig Party can never be defeated in this country when battling openly and distinctly upon those great Principles of Public Policy on which it is based. It is only by drawing off public attention to local, secondary, and irrelevant issues that our opponents succeed. Let us everywhere put forward our ablest and best men for public stations, and place the great issues distinctly before the people. Let us have candidates for Congress who can ably advocate our cause and clearly elucidate the great questions of public policy which divide us from our opponents, and let us see that they are men who will visit and address the People in every Town and Village. Let us everywhere engrave on our flag the PROTECTION OF AMERICAN INDUSTRY, with a SOUND AND UNIFORM CURRENCY, and we cannot be beaten."—*Tribune*, May 25, 1842.

What H. G. Knew about Politics after he had failed to secure the Senatorship.

"We have done our share at shouting, screeching, hurrahing, exhorting, entreating, to in-

duce our readers to vote for this or that ticket or party. This was very well when we were younger, and when we verily thought the salvation or perdition of our country depended on the issue of the pending election; but having outgrown the feeling which impelled to this course, to persist longer in the course itself would be hollow hypocrisy. There was a time when we would have readily voted for a Whig of doubtful capacity or integrity rather than a Democrat personally fit for the post; but we have since discovered, not merely that we have no moral right to make so great a sacrifice to Party, but that no party can really be benefited by helping its knaves and fools into office."—*Tribune*, November 3, 1853.

What H. G. Insinuated about Gen. Grant's appointing him to office.

"All I ever saw or heard of Gen. Grant assures me that he has too much sense to think of sending me to San Domingo. Thus far he has honored and gratified me by never suggesting to me that I could be more useful to the country, or to his administration, in any other position than in that which I have filled to my own entire satisfaction for almost thirty years. At all events, I assure you that I never thought of going to San Domingo, am not (I trust) wanted to go to San Domingo—and, at all events, *won't go* to San Domingo."—*Tribune*, January 9, 1871.

What H. G. Knows about the Missouri Bolt by Revenue Reformers.

"The Missouri bolt was arranged in Washington last Winter, and then proclaimed in the Free Trade organs. The game was to get a minority of the Republicans to unite with all the Democrats and revolutionize the State. To this end, an issue on Enfranchisement was indispensable. The Democrats were not all Free Traders, but they all wanted the Rebels enfranchised, and would vote any ticket to secure that end. The Republicans were divided on Enfranchisement; some believing that the time for it had come, others that it had not. When, therefore, Carl Schurz, in a bullying, irritating speech, insisted that the Republican Convention should make Enfranchisement a plank of its platform, the answer was obvious: 'You ask us to assert a falsehood—namely, that we are all in favor of Enfranchisement, when some of us are not.' The Republicans adopted a platform, which left every one free to vote for or against Enfranchisement, as he judged best. Hereupon, the predetermined bolt was made. We warned the Republicans that the pretext was a sham—that Enfranchisement was certain to be carried anyhow—that the real object of the bolt was to hand the State over to the Sham Democracy and Free Trade, and that is the naked truth."—*Tribune*, November 30, 1870.

What H. G. Knows about the Revenue Reform Game.

"From the outset, we have insisted that the movement which disguised its purpose under the unequivocal phrase, 'Revenue Reform' purposed the overthrow and ruin of the Republican party. The engineers of this movement, in spite of their pretences, never expected to carry it through the Republican organization, but over it. They did not expect to convince and convert, nor even to bully the Republicans into acquiescence in their policy—they meant only to alienate enough Republicans from their party to secure a triumph to the Democrats, and thus achieve the downfall of the Protective policy. Their game in Missouri foreshadows that which they mean to play in our next election of President. Having been fairly outnumbered in the Republican State Convention, they bolted and set up an opposition ticket, which they had no hope of electing otherwise than by a solid Democratic vote—as they have elected it. Though they carried off with them half our politicians and our only journal which circulates throughout the State, they have not polled a quarter of the Republican vote; but this sufficed, when combined with the whole Democratic strength, to carry the State."—*Tribune*, November 11, 1870.

What H. G. Knew about Gen. Grant's opinion of Revenue Reformers.

"President Grant has expressed precisely the opinion we should have expected from him concerning the Gratz Brown movement in Missouri. He considers it an effort to disorganize the Republican party without cause, which no good Republican who has the interests of the country and of the party at heart can fail zealously to combat. How any man professing Republicanism can fail to take the same view is one of the mysteries which only Revenue Reformers, Tammany Republicans, and other political nondescripts can be expected to understand."—*Tribune*, September 21, 1870.

What H. G. Knows about Gratz Brown & Co.'s Revenue Reform Bolt.

"The moral in Missouri.' Under this title *Harper's Weekly* sees fit to expatiate on the recent bolt of Gratz Brown & Co. from the Republican party. Let us see how fairly it can afford to state the material facts. It says: 'The Republican Convention in Missouri divided. One part renominated Governor McClurg; the other part renominated Mr. B. Gratz Brown, ex-Senator of the United States. The platforms of both parties are excellent.' 'A part renominated Governor McClurg,' did it? Why not say that it was a clear majority? Suppose that

when a part of the delegates in our late State Convention had expressed a preference for General Woodford, the minority had bolted and nominated some one else, would *Harper's* have treated the bolters so daintily? Would it have intimated that there was no difference between the nomination made by the majority of the Convention and that made by the minority? *Harper's Weekly* suppresses the fact that this bolt was arranged last Winter in Washington, and joyfully proclaimed through the correspondence of *The Evening Post*, *Chicago Tribune*, and their cronies. General Schenck, Mr. Bingham, and other leading Protectionists were marked for defeat in the same programme. *Harper's Weekly* would obviate the danger of disorder in the Republican ranks by the simple expedient of having the majority surrender to the minority! Those who term themselves 'Revenue Reformers' will bolt in other States as they did in Missouri, if we do not give way to them. Will they not bolt *anyhow*? They did in Missouri, where their own resolve was adopted by the Convention. Why may they not in any other State? The Republican party, on its first accession to power, framed and passed a Protective Tariff. That the country is at least One Billion of Dollars richer for that act we do firmly and joyfully believe; and in this faith an immense majority of the Republicans heartily concur. If the minority, having adopted on this head the principles and policy of Calhoun, Jefferson Davis, and Howell Cobb, see fit to bolt and throw State after State into the hands of the Sham Democracy, we cannot help it."—*Tribune*, September 26, 1870.

What H. G. Knows about the attempt to Break up the Republican Party.

"The Free Traders have determined to abandon and oppose the Republican party. The premeditated Gratz-Brown bolt in Missouri, with the countenance afforded it in other States, *The Evening Post's* open support of the Democratic candidate for Congress in the Elmira district because he is a Free Trader, the malignant attack upon the republican leaders in Congress by nominally Republican journals, and a thousand other indications, point unerringly to this secession. We can countervail those apostacies by frankly and boldly taking up the gage insidiously thrown down, and saying to all: 'Yes; we are Protectionists, as Washington, Hamilton, Madison, Clay, the Clintons, Tompkins, Simon Snyder, &c., &c., were, and for identical reasons. Hear them!' Men and brethren, is not this the manly way to enduring ascendancy? Is there any other?"—*Tribune*, October 18, 1870.

What H. G. Knows about the Prospects of the Republican Party.

"We publish on another page this morning a carefully prepared letter from Washington on the political prospects of the Republican party. Our correspondent concludes (as was indeed already manifest) that the 'new-party movement' of the 'Revenue Reformers' was without strength and unorganized, and that the Republican party will approach the next contest as united on national issues and as earnest in the advocacy of its principles as in the past. The dissensions of the Democracy are not, we believe, exaggerated, although it is to our own strength, and not to our enemy's weakness, that we must look for success."—*Tribune*, December 21, 1870.

What H. G. Knows about the duty of Republicans to Support their Candidates.

"Mr. Greeley insists on the perfect right of every Republican to avow his personal preference as to the Republican candidate for next President, and cannot realize that rare courage is ever evinced in making such avowal. When a Republican National Convention, fairly chosen after free consultation and the frank interchange of opinions, shall have nominated Republican candidates for President and Vice-President, we expect to urge all Republicans to give them a hearty, effective support, whether they be or be not of those whose original preference has been gratified. Until that time Mr. Greeley will maintain the perfect and equal right of every Republican to indicate and justify his preference, whether it favor the incumbent or some other Republican."—*Tribune*, August 10, 1871.

What H. G. Knew when he was first asked if he would be a Candidate for the Presidency.

"I trust never henceforth to be an aspirant for any office or political position whatever; but I fully purpose, also, never to decline any duty or responsibility which my political friends shall see fit to devolve upon me, and of which I shall be able to fulfil the obligations without neglecting older and more imperative duties."—*Tribune*, November 21, 1871.

What H. G. Knew originally about Bolters.

"It is the same bolting squad, with very few changes, which now pretends to reorganize the party. It is a faction that burrows and prowls—that nominates candidates in order to defeat them—that loves darkness rather than light—that seeks to compensate by finesse and fraud for the paucity of its numbers and the baseness of its aim. We trust it will not forget to hold another Convention. The more the people are permitted to see of it, the less danger can there be that they will be duped by it."—*Tribune*, August 15, 1856.

What H. G. Knew after he was further entreated to be a Presidential Candidate.

"Within the last six or eight months the Editor of this journal has received some thirty or forty letters—mainly from private persons—proposing that he should be a candidate for the next President. That he has answered few of these overtures was owing to no indifference, real or affected, but to his presumption that candidates are to be made by others than themselves. There was no doubt that, if chosen to that high office, he would accept it—do you happen to know any one who would not?—so that he was the last, instead of the first, to be addressed on the subject. But no one was more fully aware than he that such a summer as these overtures contemplated is not made by a dozen straggling swallows; and then many important events must intervene before the proper time for opening the Presidential canvass of 1872."—*Tribune*, May 4, 1871.

What H. G. Knew about the false position in which all would be placed if He was nominated by Democrats.

"I have no doubt that the policy you suggest is that which your party [the Democrats] ought to adopt. * * * You only err as to the proper candidate. I am not the man you need. Your party is mostly Free Trade, and I am a ferocious Protectionist. I have no doubt that I might be nominated and elected by your help, but it would place us all in a false position. If I, who am adversely interested, can see this, I am sure your good sense will on reflection realize it. You must take some man like Gratz Brown, or Trumbull, or Gen. Cox, late Secretary of the Interior, and thus help to pacify and reunite our country anew."—*Tribune*, December 30, 1871.

What H. G. Knew about the effect of a Democratic success in the Presidential election.

"The personal views of Mr. Greeley are exactly these: He favors the One Term principle, and believes that another Republican candidate for President can be selected who will encounter less opposition and win more support than Gen. Grant; and he therefore advocates such election. But should his views be overruled and Gen. Grant nominated, he holds his election infinitely preferable to that of any candidate whom the Democrats may nominate, for a Democratic triumph involves the return to power of the great mass of those who for years plotted the disruption of our Union, and at length forced the Southern States into secession and rebellion contrary to the wishes and the judgment of a decided majority of their people. A Democratic triumph involves the ascendancy of those who hate the Nation's creditors because their money powerfully contributed to the overthrow of the Rebellion, and will find a way to cheat them if possible. A Democratic triumph involves the subversion of protection to our Home Industry, with a repetition of the wide-spread disasters and distresses which have repeatedly and naturally followed such overthrow. The 'personal views of Mr. Greeley' impel him to deprecate a Democratic National triumph as one of the gravest National calamities; and this is his main reason for wishing the selection of a Republican candidate for President who will be more certain of success than Gen. Grant."—*Tribune*, August 18, 1871.

What H. G. Knew about his qualifications for an independent nomination.

"Mr. Greeley, to the best of his knowledge, has been quietly minding his own business at and about home, and is happy to confirm the statement that he is too 'erratic, crotchety, and unreliable' to be a party to any back-stairs intrigue for the Presidency."—*Tribune*, December 5, 1871.

What H. G. Knew might be done at Cincinnati.

"If there is any trouble at Cincinnati, it is from the inclinations of nominating Rings. We beg to say just one thing to this Convention. The biggest thing before the country is the question of the honest men against the thieves. What the country sorely needs and imperatively demands is a reform in the Administration of Government. This is not to be attained by combinations of worn-out political hacks, to secure the nomination of some candidate for President who may suit their peculiar wants and views."—*Tribune*, April 30, 1872.

What H. G. Knew about the Schemes of the Free Traders at Cincinnati.

"We judge from our dispatches herewith printed, that a very considerable proportion of the Free-Traders who have mustered strongly by preconcert at Cincinnati are resolved to insist on a Free-Trade plank in the platform of the Liberal Convention. Should they carry their point, we shall have increased respect for their courage, with a low estimate of their discretion. In such case, we trust they will use no ambiguous, juggling phrases, but set forth their exact meaning in words that will not bear two interpretations. Sooner or later the country must and will divide on the Tariff question: if the Free-Traders choose to draw the line now, it is their clear right to do so."—*Tribune*, April 30, 1872.

What H. G. Knew in 1843 about an irregular Presidential Candidate in 1872.

"When one manifestly *not* called to be a Candidate by the unequivocal voice of the Country, or even of his own party, is seen elbowing, jostling, jockeying in a crowd of aspirants for the party nomination, writing electioneering letters, higgling about the terms of the Convention, and obviously striving to secure to himself all possible advantage in the time of assembling, the manner of electing Delegates and the mode of voting, we feel that the spectacle presented is one discreditable to the individual in the foreground, and humiliating to the dignity of the American People."—*Tribune*, June 5, 1843.

What H. G. Knew in 1858 about selling out the Republican Party in 1872.

"Several gentlemen of the editorial profession are warmly engaged, with such sagacity and prescience as Providence has allotted to them, in drawing up proposals for the disposition of the Republican party, which they seem to regard as a piece of merchandise which it will be vastly profitable to sell and equally disastrous to keep. That conjuncture of public affairs must be a peculiar and a rare one which will either authorize or permit party conventions, or party leaders of which such conventions are too often composed, to offer at public vendue the suffrages of about a Million of Voters, honest and intelligent, or presumed to be so. There have been in the past, and there may be in the future, parties manufactured for sale, and therefore venal and vendible. Those who have undertaken to dispose of the Republican Party will do well to consider whether the circumstances of its inception and of its existence, through victory and defeat, up to the present time, indicate those indispensable conditions, without which its own ratification of the little transaction—somewhat necessary, we venture to suggest—would be hopeless; and without which the most mischievous distraction and the most lamentable disintegration would be only temporary. A great party, under any circumstances, is a pretty hard thing to sell; a party composed of men who have, or profess to have consciences, is the hardest thing in the world to dispose of."—*Tribune*, December 3, 1858.

What H. G. Knew in 1843 about an equivocating Presidential Candidate.

"Mr. Van Buren is determined to secure his nomination first, and then deal with the Tariff and other perplexing questions as the necessities of the Canvass shall require. It is not probable that such a nomination will command the respect of the party for which it professes to act, or of any portion of it but the personal adherents of its author. As an expression of opinion its decision will be a manifest farce."—*Tribune*, April 20, 1843.

What H. G. Knows about the Position of the Democratic Party.

"It was not to be expected that the party which opposed the war for the Union could long survive its successful conclusion. Held together by the cohesive power of expected divisions of party spoils, it has outlived the logical period for its demise, but not for long. Becoming a party for mere negatives it has nothing but opposition and destruction to offer the country. It proposes only to abolish, repeal, repudiate, and annul; it offers no substitute for what it seeks to destroy. It is the anarchist which would destroy order, but reveals no future condition of betterment—only confusion, chaos, nothingness. Such a party cannot, in the nature of things, long maintain even a spasmodic existence. In all truth and soberness, we cannot see what possible mission the Democratic party has to fulfil in the country. Party organization for the sake only of securing and dividing the public offices cannot long exist. And to this complexion the once proud old Democratic party has come at last. The great thefts of Tammany, in New York, are an earnest of what would be done wherever the Democracy can secure power. It is public plunder, not principle, which binds together the dominant party in New York; and, whether Gov. Hoffman's freebooters fleece the merchants in the Bay, or the man who boasts of owning the Legislature of New York binds the city hand and foot, it is reckoned legitimate policy by Democratic tacticians. It does not seem in reason that a party so organized and conducted should long exist. But it needs all the hard blows that Republicans can deliver upon it to bring down to the dust of defeat this preposterous sham, which has no longer any excuse for being. We do not see what is to keep this misnamed band of conspirators much longer alive. Only the lethargy of its natural foes will permit its further success in the nation."—*Tribune*, September 2, 1871.

What H. G. Knows about the Prospects of Gen. Grant's Re-election.

"As a Republican we have no right and no wish to direct the future course of the party to which we shall at any rate stand opposed. If that party shall see fit to challenge us to fight over again the battle of 1868 we shall of course take up the gage with great and well-founded confidence of success.

"We have no fear that the American people will reverse in '72 the verdict they recorded in the election of Grant and Celfax. In a purely partisan aspect, we should consider this our best hold."—*Tribune*, March 11, 1871.

WHAT HORACE GREELEY KNOWS

ABOUT

The Democratic Party, from 1841 until 1872, inclusive—His opinions of the Democratic Organization—Its Intrigues and its Bargains—Its Deceits and its Diplomacy, &c., &c., &c.

What H. G. Knew about Democratic support of an opponent, in September, 1841.

"To you, Young Men of New York! your country appeals in this hour of trial but of hope, for a generous and enthusiastic effort. Your gaze is bent hopefully on the Future, not uselessly on the Past. You cannot be made to fancy exclusive Democracy in the servile devotees of Executive Supremacy in Legislation, in the strenuous advocates of Gag-Laws, the deriders of the People's Right of Petition. You cannot look, without the loathing of manly natures, on the open alliance, shocking to all decency, of an accident, who has falsified all his pledges and betrayed those who exalted him to power, with a party which he was expressly elected to oppose, but which, finding him hollow and faithless, now fawns around him for the spoils he does out to them, and are eager to flatter where they cannot but despise."—*Tribune, September 24.*

What H. G. Knew about the Democratic Party in February, 1842.

"There is a dry Scotch proverb which says, 'He must have a long spune who sups kail with the deil.' Nine-tenths of the convicted felons, outlaws, fugitives from Justice and others who have no right to vote in our city, and can never legally acquire any, are attached by an instinctive sympathy to the Loco-Foco party."—*Tribune, February 12, 1842.*

What H. G. Knew about the Democratic Party in June, 1843.

"When American Citizens used to gather by hundreds to sing and dance around Hickory Poles, with barrels of whisky rolled out and heads of Beer-Casks stove in—when right here, in the heart of this enlightened emporium, men were seen, after a cask of beer had been poured into the hole where the Pole was to be set in front of Tammany Hall, to lie down and drink it from the ground like hogs—the Kinderhooker saw nothing 'disreputable' then. When American Citizens have been swept away from the Poles of our city with clubs by bands of misguided and excited immigrants, half civilized and maddened with liquor furnished them by party liberality, we had no hint from Mr. Van Buren that such scenes were 'disreputable' or calculated to impair 'the Confidence of mankind in our fitness for free institutions.' When men who felt it their duty to bear testimony against Slavery were mobbed and bludgeoned for peacefully so doing, and the owner of a free press was shot down in his own tenement for guarding his press from destruction by a band of ruffians who chose to suspect that it *would* be used against Slavery, this demagogue could see in it nothing calculated to shake confidence in our fitness for free institutions, but coolly remarked in his Inaugural that a 'reckless disregard of the consequences of their conduct has exposed individuals to popular indignation.'"—*Tribune.*

What H. G. Knew about the Democratic Party in September, 1850.

"We use the term 'Loco-Foco' to designate a certain political creed, whereof exclusive Hard Money, hostility to the Protection of Home Labor, general aversion to Government aid to the improvement of Rivers, Harbors, &c., are the chief articles. The fit motto of this political school is, 'The best Government is that which governs least.' It would, if logically consistent, confine the sphere of Government to punishing criminals and repressing outrage on persons and property. It is a do-nothing, stand-still, anti-social school. We, on the other hand, believe that Government, like every other intelligent agency, is bound to do good to the extent of its ability—that it ought actively to promote and increase the general well-being—that it should encourage and foster Industry, Science, Invention, Intellectual, Social and Physical Progress, as well as provide Prosecuting Attorneys, Constables and Executioners. Such is our idea of the sphere of Government—such is our conception of the essence and scope of the great questions whereon the Country is Politically divided."—*Tribune, September 18, 1850.*

What H. G. Knew about the Democratic Party in February, 1851.

"In the United States a great political party has in times past made the abolition of paper money and an establishment of an exclusive metallic currency its war-cry. That party called itself Democratic, the party of the People. No matter what its pretences, its measures in this respect, as in every other, have had no other tendency than to strengthen the power of money, diminish the reward of labor, and hand the masses, unprotected and incapable of resistance, over to the tender mercies of capitalists and usurers."—*Tribune*, February 12, 1851.

What H. G. Knew about the Democratic Party in 1854.

"Our Democracy has now, with a corrupt Christianity, reduced the United States to a great conspirator against human liberty. Aggression, annexation, slave-extension are all contained and approved in the so-called Democracy and so-called Christianity which coalesces with it. We need men—not trading priests, nor trading politicians, nor trading merchants—but men—men who see what Christianity is in its sublime morality, and what Democracy is according to the organic spirit and the political instrument which underlie the whole theory and practice of this Government—the Declaration of Independence, in a word. We need journals—not echoes, not subscriber-hunting, popularity-cherishing organs—but presses of light and liberty. We need advocates of principles and enemies of trucking and corruption. Our great men so called have failed to reduce a great political truth to practice during this century. They have dallied with the evil. If in the South, they have held with the grip of exasperated avarice to their bondmen; if in the North, they have been careful not to offend their Southern brethren, lest they should not get the regular nomination. And what has all this South done which has so lorded it with her one hundred or two hundred thousand negro-drivers over this country? Where are her superiorities—her arts, or her literature even, except as they come from the North? Where are her chemistry, geology, literature, mechanics, engineering, esthetics—where are her grand efforts to diminish human toil—her steam-engines, locomotives, timber-bending, or planing, or sewing, or washing-machines—all this gospel of divine economies for the sweating and sorrowing humanities of thousands of years?"—*Tribune*, August 18, 1854.

What H. G. Knew about the Democratic Party in March, 1855.

"This election discloses what the elections elsewhere in the North demonstrate, that the old Democratic party is reduced to a skeleton, and can nowhere stand against the Opposition, if the elements of the Opposition will combine. This party, so long invincible through the charm of its name and the drill of its organization, is stripped of its power and trembles upon the verge of dissolution. If the Opposition will only be wise, it has the power to extinguish it at a blow. The great traitorous combination which, in the name of Democracy, has dared to strike a parricidal blow at the cause of Freedom and progress on this Continent, may itself be cloven down in the act. It is a time when minor differences should be forgotten, and when all should unite to complete the overthrow of those arch-traitors who, professing, in their own language, to believe this to be a 'nigger era,' have instituted their atrocious experiment upon the public credulity and the public sense of right."—*Tribune*, March 15, 1855.

What H. G. Knew about the Democratic Party in March, 1856.

"It were wrong to deny that the party most confident of a triumphant issue from the next Presidential contest, is that which uses the name of Democracy to cover and advance the most fanatical devotion to human inequality and the interminable degradation of the wretched and helpless."—*Tribune*, March 31, 1856.

What H. G. Knew about the Democratic Party in June, 1856.

"No one who has watched, during the last ten years, the proceedings of those who consider themselves the leaders of the Democratic Party, can have failed to observe the lack of all general ideas, of all fundamental political philosophy which characterizes their speeches, their conventions, and their acts. The men who laid the foundations of our republic, and especially Jefferson, had a political philosophy of which the theoretical part was mostly derived from the French authors who preceded and prepared the revolution, and the practical part from the common law and the institutions of England. The fundamental doctrine of that philosophy was that each individual man is possessed of certain inalienable rights, and that government is but the instrument for the protection of those rights. How shamefully the party has departed from this principle we do not now propose to inquire. It is rather the absence of all principle, and the decision of questions of the gravest importance upon considerations of policy utterly unworthy of statesmen, to which we wish to invite attention."—*Tribune*, June 23, 1856.

What H. G. Knew about the Democratic Party in April, 1857.

"The Council of Sachems of the Tammany Society are the masters, for the time being, of Tammany Hall. They close it preemptorily against any party or faction which they pro-

nounce heterodox; they open it to that committee or faction on which they deign to smile, which thereupon becomes clothed with all the potentialities and splendors rightfully pertaining to the regular Democracy of the city of New York. And for this 'regular Democracy,' or whoever may wear its countersign, there are ten to twenty thousand electors in this city who will shout and sweat and vote—whose sweet voices are the unquestioned property of whoever has the 'open sesame' of Tammany Hall. And what is this Tammany Society? A secret, self-created, self-perpetuating cabal, mainly of aspiring politicians, with a few who once were but are so no longer. It is in essence as thorough an aristocracy as Sparta or Venice ever knew. It is an organized conspiracy to give to the selfish intrigues of the few the appearance and weight due only to the disinterested convictions and intelligent decisions of the many. It is a part of the game by which Government is made to subserve the end of aggrandizing the directors of political machinery at the cost of the simple and credulous multitude."—*Tribune*.

What H. G. Knew about the Democratic Party in April, 1858.

"In contemplating the Democratic party as it now is, and comparing it with the Democratic party as it used to be, whether of the time of Jefferson or of the time of Jackson, one is forcibly reminded of that metaphysical pair of silk stockings which by dint of repeated darning had become entirely worsted, without a single thread of silk left in them. Very much the same is the present predicament of that which calls itself the Democratic party. No pair of stockings, whether silk or of any other texture, was ever put to such hard usage, to such perpetual and consuming wear, as of late years the Democratic party has been. As a natural consequence, holes have broken out in every direction. These holes, it is true, have been very diligently darned with whatever material came readiest to hand—at a vast expense, too, to the Treasury; the public expenditures have mightily increased under the operation. Appearances have been kept up. The outward forms, the old name, have been preserved. The stockings are still called silk, and as such to a certain extent pass muster, or have, till quite lately, with an undiscerning and unscrutinizing public. But when we come to examine them a little closely, how small a modicum of the original texture or even of the nominal material do we find left! Without stopping to call attention to the holes in the party which Buchanan and Toucey, old Federalists, and renegade Whigs, are now filling, how completely in the matter of principle and sentiment has this so-called Democratic party ceased to be silk and become totally worsted!"—*Tribune*, April 5, 1858.

What H. G. Knew about the Democratic Party in September, 1858.

"It was once the boast of the Democratic party, carefully confined in its enunciation to quarters in which a suspicion of culture and refinement could do no harm, that it had selected the cleverest men of letters in the land. It must be admitted that the claim was not destitute of presumption, and that nominally the show was a fair one. Several able writers were called by the party name, swallowed the party pap, and paraded themselves as the ornaments, if not the safeguards of the party. Their condescension was tolerably requited by an organization, the Chief of which could not spell, and the Camp-followers of which could not read. Mr. Irving was called a Democrat, and was sent to Spain and to his beloved Alhambra. Mr. Bancroft was dubbed a Democrat, and was made Collector of Boston, and Minister at St. James. Mr. Paulding was denominated a Democrat, and received a port-folio at Washington. Mr. Brownson was christened a Democrat, and was appointed Master of Chelsea Hospital. These, however, were but nibblers at the gigantic loaf of Executive patronage, while the disposition of the slices indicated with painful accuracy the predominating tastes of the Democracy. At Washington, its newspaper was sometimes strong, always coarse, and never polished. General Jackson could not write the English language; Mr. Van Buren used it adroitly, but never with the skill or the taste of a scholar; Mr. Polk, if he ever entertained the least passion for letters, never told his love, and succeeded charmingly in concealing it; Mr. Pierce was a country lawyer, who read what he was obliged to read and nothing more; Mr. Buchanan's literary aspirations culminated nearly a century ago in the dubious shape of a more dubious Fourth-of-July Oration, for uttering which he has indubitably cursed himself and his stars ninety and nine times. Of the Democratic Doctors we know nothing and care to know nothing. Of the Democratic Lawyers, we can only say that, if the National bar can yield us no brighter National bench, the brilliancy of its members may be utterly blinding in a Piepowder Court, but has not thus far illuminated loftier tribunals. Of Democratic Clergymen, we may remark that we never saw one, and never heard of one, if we except those good men who guard the morals of our pious tars, and minister to the souls deceased of our Senators and Representatives."—*Tribune*.

What H. G. Knew about the Democrats of Massachusetts in 1858.

"Among the many Peculiar Institutions of this great country, there is perhaps none more peculiar than the Democratic Party of Massachusetts. We might say, the Democratic Party of Boston, as there are very few members of it out of Boston, and out of the number of those earnestly longing to get there in the service of their country. The policy of the Democratic leaders in that city has been, since Jackson first came into

power, to keep the party 'conveniently small,' as somebody well expressed it, so that the Treasury pap should not be wasted on the unworthy, or its menses—distributable to the children of light—be unduly diminished by an infinitesimal subdivision. In fact, the Lady Patronesses of Almack's never tried to keep that exclusive institution select more zealously than the Boston Democratiarchs have always labored to preserve their esoteric priesthood safe from the invasion of exoteric intruders. It is taken for granted that the Democratic Party can get along extremely well without Massachusetts; and it is by no means desirable that the small remnant that is left of the faithful in that world lying first in Whiggery and now in Republicanism should lose any portion of their reward through an undue competition for the crown of their martyrdom."—*Tribune*, October 11, 1858.

What H. G. Knew about the Democratic Party in May, 1859.

"But, if we are to believe the assertions of Democratic presses and leaders, their quarrels are soon to cease and determine forever. Old controversies are not merely to be ignored—they are to be annihilated. Not only is the statute of limitations to be adjudged to have run against all past offences, but they are, by solemn resolution, to be declared never to have existed. Not only is there to be no reference in thought or word to the repudiation of Van Buren in 1844, and the assassination of Wright in 1846; to the corner-stone scrimmage of 1847, and the Buffalo bolt of 1848; to the slaughter of the Hard innocents by Marcy and Pierce, and the cold-shouldering of Dickinson's friends by Buchanan—but all recollection of these and cognate events is to be obliterated. The hatchet is to be buried. The Geronomos and the Leonii are to embrace and be brothers. There is to be no more breaking of heads in Tammany; no more packing of State Conventions; no more double delegations to National Conventions; no more Wood and Sickles brawls; no more 'running of the machine' at Syracuse by Peter Caggar; no more wrangling at Albany; no more cheating at Washington; Capulet, the Hard, and Montague, the Soft, are to smoke the pipe of peace—our venerable President, by seniority of years, laying his benedictive hands upon the heads of the two houses. If any suggestions of ours can facilitate this devoutly-wished consummation, they will be cheerfully given, on request, to the chiefs of the high contracting parties."—*Tribune*, May 18, 1859.

What H. G. Knew about the Democratic Party in October, 1859.

"Right well do the rich Democrats know that illegal voting—voting by aliens, by minors, and by persons who have not lived here long enough to entitle them to the right of suffrage—voting two, three, five, ten, and even twenty times at the same election—is the malignant cancer of our political system. They know that herein is the stronghold of blackleg potency and rowdy predominance in our city elections. Mr. Watts Sherman could only vote more than once in any election with great difficulty and danger; but Tague Maloney and Hans Spiffedercker could hitherto put in their dozen votes each at an election with ease and impunity. It is as notorious in well-informed political circles, that Robert H. Morris was once returned Mayor of this city by six thousand majority, when he had not six hundred (if any) majority of the legal votes; that Aaron Clark was run out by voting the same men over and over against him; that James K. Polk had a large majority returned for him here when Henry Clay beat him largely on the legal poll; that Wood was first made Mayor by some two thousand declared majority, when Baker beat him as many on the legal poll; that Buchanan was declared to have received forty-five thousand votes here, when his actual legal vote was less than forty thousand; and that in the last Mayoralty election not less than fifteen thousand illegal votes were polled—not all on one side, though Wood received by far the most of them."—*Tribune*, October 15, 1859.

What H. G. Knew about the Democratic Party in July, 1860.

"The utter impotence and paralysis into which the once proud and powerful Democratic party has fallen is evinced in many ways, but in none more strikingly than in the character of its lies and liars. How its orators and journals used absolutely to rain calumnies on Adams and Clay and Harrison, and in later days on Seward and Frémont!—none of your little, contemptible, picaresque falsehoods, but great, fat, black lies, that had venom and sting in them—lies that evinced originality, audacity, and even genius."—*Tribune*, July 9, 1860.

What H. G. Knew about the Democrats of Pennsylvania in 1860.

"Men of Pennsylvania! we state to you facts drawn from official records—facts of the widest notoriety. You know whether *The Tribune*, located in this focus of Importation and of Free-Trade influence, has ever faltered in its support of Protection, or has been earnest and out spoken through the twenty years of its existence. You cannot shake our devotion to the cause which we know to be that of Industrial Development and the National growth, even by repeating the idiotic madness of 1844. But there are others less tenacious because less deeply grounded in conviction than we are; and we

tell you that the triumph of Pro-Slavery Democrats in the pending contest in your State will be regarded and treated by the country as an avowal on your part that you do not really want a Protective Tariff. In other words, 'if Pennsylvania does as she did in '44 she will reap just such a reward for it as she did in '46.' And who can say that she will not have deserved it?"—*Tribune*, September 26, 1860.

What H. G. Knew about the Democratic Party in November, 1861.

"Certain Democratic politicians of our own and other loyal States, who regard everything from a partisan stand-point, are sedulously inculcating the belief that the ascendancy of their party would put an end to the present civil war. Now if it were distinctly proclaimed that the Democrats, if restored to power, would make peace with the Rebels on their own terms, the assertion would be by no means incredible. But the impression sought to be made that the Pro-Slavery rebels would lay down their arms and return to loyalty if their old friends the Democrats were in power at Washington, is utterly unwarranted by facts. The Secessionist Master-Spirits are thorough believers in what Gov. Seward once felicitously termed the 'irrepressible conflict.' They hold with Mr. Lincoln in 1858, that the Country cannot permanently remain half slave and half free. And, despairing of their ability to master and rule it persistently and thoroughly, they have fully resolved to segregate and tear away what they esteem their half of it completely and forever. Holding themselves gentlemen and cavaliers by birth and breeding they revolt against Democracy not less than against Anti-Slavery. They repudiate the present Administration as a Government of snobs rather than of fanatics. They never feared that President Lincoln would meddle with their slaves, but they cannot bear the thought of being governed by a flat-boatman and rail-splitter. It is that inevitable tendency of Northern ideas and institutions to raise the sons of clodhoppers and cobblers to the high places of the land that has plunged the Chivalry of the Rice-Swamp and the Cotton-field into the gulf of rebellion. They mean to make an end of the rule of 'mudsills' whether of one or the other party, and will no longer be placated by the utmost servility to 'the peculiar institution.' Hence all attempts to coax them back into the Union by a restoration of Democratic rule and a prospect of its continuance are certain to prove illusory."—*Tribune*, March 5, 1861.

What H. G. Knew about the Democratic Party in October, 1862.

"If the Democratic journals of the Free States were truly loyal—nay, if they were tolerably honest—they would let their readers know that a peace with the Rebels is impossible, because no peace can be had which does not involve the absolute ruin of the Republic. Henry May, M. C. from Baltimore, a dubious Unionist, elected in good part by the Secession vote, went to Richmond more than a year ago expressly to ascertain on what terms the Confederates would make peace. They promptly assured him that no terms that involve a restoration of the Union were admissible—that, if they were offered a blank sheet of paper, with authority to write on it their own conditions of reunion, they would reject it. This has for many months been a matter of notoriety; but how many of the Pro-Slavery journals of the Free States have given it circulation? Has it ever been alluded to in any speech of Gov. Seymour or any one of his supporters? Lieut. Maury wrote last Spring from Richmond a letter to a French friend, intended to serve as a Rebel manifesto. In this letter he distinctly declared that the terms of peace which would be insisted on by his fellow-Rebels were such as the Unionists would not and could not accede to until they should be in the last stages of exhaustion. They would have West Virginia, which never adhered to but has always opposed them, and they would require a popular vote to be taken in Kentucky, Missouri, and Delaware, to decide whether those States respectively should belong to the Union or the Confederacy. And the Lieutenant, though he crammed his letter with atrocious falsehoods, was frank enough to admit that he did not expect the Unionists to submit to such terms until after they shall have been very badly whipped."—*Tribune*, October 2, 1862.

What H. G. Knew about the Democratic Party in 1863.

"It must be confessed that the 'Democracy' of the State of Maine dies very hard. It seems to have set its obdurate heart upon departing this life in any thing but a smell of sanctity; and now, when it holds its Conventions, which must be like a collection of sick folk in a hospital, it always passes resolutions which modern events have rendered ridiculous, though we don't deny that ten years ago they would have been strictly after the regulation pattern. The trouble with these honest gentlemen is, that having all their lives been licking the feet of slaveholders, for the sake of the place and pelf, no severity of kicking can rid them of the habit. Dirt-eating, as the West-Indian doctors inform us, is an incurable disease, but who would have expected to find the same old trouble in the nosology of Maine? It is an exceedingly unpleasant business. The contemplation of it has an adverse influence upon the stomachs of sound men. Now, in the midst of this hot civil war, in which the devil is contending for the everlasting continuance of human degradation, to find beings who wear coats and not petticoats, breeches and not bodices, owlishly resolving all sorts of flummery in favor of their foes, and sending little bits of cringing sophistry, with their best compliments, into the enemy's camp—it is dreadful! It almost converts

us to the doctrine of the inequality of the races. They cannot—these Maine Dough Democrats—be of the same flesh and blood with the brave fellows who are fighting our battles. The ways of Providence are past finding out. Why, in the name of our limited reason, are these gentry free in the East, while respectable blacks are slaves in the South? Alas! this boasted Ethnology is more of a muddle than ever! If white skins must thus betray their possessors into servility, most honorable Caucasians will weep that they were not born as black as night.”—*Tribune*.

What H. G. Knew about the Democrats in 1867.

“The World, apparently speaking in the interest of our city hotels and restaurants, preposes that a Convention be held of those Democrats who suffered from arbitrary arrests during the Lincoln reign. Such a Convention could only be lodged and fed in New York City, and it would tax our resources to the utmost. It would be a great discourtesy to hold such a Convention unless it could be presided over by J. Wilkes Booth as Chairman, with the assistance of Paine, Atzerott, Surratt, Blackburn, and others equally distinguished, as Vice-Presidents. So many of these have reached their final destination, and the rest are so plainly on the way, that it would save a heavy expense in lights and fuel to wait till they have all got there. We have no desire to be present at the Convention, or to send any of our reporters. But we venture to predict that for the first time in the history of Democratic Conventions, cold water will be in lively demand and the supply limited.”—*Tribune*, October 30, 1867.

“The great Gorilla of the Democracy is filling the air with his demoniacal howling, and beating his breast like a tremendous drum, to express his savage joy over the first full meal he has had after years of enforced abstinence. Eat your fill now, Gorilla, for you will never have another chance!”—*Tribune*, November 11, 1867.

What H. G. Knew about the Democratic Party in 1868.

“In those dark years when the slaveholder ruled from Boston to New Orleans, the Democratic party cheerfully wore his collar, and when he fell from power it still howled and barked at the heels of the nation throughout the long and agonizing struggle for life. This virtue at least it had—the fidelity with which an ill-treated cur sometimes follows a brutal master, and it is faithful yet. The slaveholder is dead, but over his grave the Democratic party whines and raves in the hope that some miracle may yet work his resurrection. Loving the dead master so well, it hates the liberated slave. Look for the purpose which controls its action, and it may be found only in its mad, unreasoning, inhuman hatred of the negro. Take this away, and the party falls to pieces. Without the inspiration of hate Democracy becomes no more than a disorganized faction, a superannuated rioter, and a sturdy beggar for office. If the colored race in this country had ever given cause for hatred, some excuse, however slight, might be made for their persecutors. But they have committed no offence. In Slavery they carried the virtue of patience to an excess which made it almost a crime. Aliens and outcasts and pariahs, Christians who were forbidden to read the Bible, forbidden to marry, yet condemned to see their women held in concubinage by their masters; counted as men and sold as beasts—this people mutely endured unparalleled oppression for generations without striking a blow. Here, in the North, the colored race has always been law-abiding and orderly; it is only in the large cities that they become corrupted to any great extent, and even in New York there is no case known in which they hung Democrats upon lamp posts, or burned down asylums for Democratic orphans. Patience and fortitude and forgiveness greater than theirs the world has never seen, and in a Christian nation there has never been a meaner spectacle than their persecution. Pitiful, indeed, is the political party whose solitary great principle is hatred of the negro, and whose chief aim is to keep him in ignorance and bondage.”—*Tribune*, February 6, 1868.

“What is a Conservative? We ask the question with some interest, because we notice that Mr. A. Belmont, banker, and chairman of the Democratic National Committee, has issued an invitation to all Conservatives to join with the Democrats in the next Fourth of July Convention in this city. Chalk we understand to be chalk, and cheese we have good reason for believing to be cheese; but that chalk is cheese, or that cheese is chalk, we stand prepared unflinchingly to deny. A Conservative Democrat is an incarnate contradiction. Conservatism halts, hesitates, trembles, doubts, and turns its gaze wistfully to the past. Democracy advances, is confident, is bold, is decided, and looks hopefully to the future; but a Conservative Democrat must have one eye at least in the back of his head, weeping for extinct despotisms, while with the other eye in his forehead he marks the signs of human advancement. It would be a very curious physiological circumstance if it should turn out that Mr. Belmont's delegates, the Democratic Conservatives and the Conservative Democrats, resemble each other in having

both eyes in the back regions, exhibiting something of 'a hungry look' by reason of their neighborhood to the phrenological organ of alimentiveness."—*Tribune*, April 20, 1868.

What H. G. Knew about the Democratic Party in 1869.

"There have been men and women who, rejecting as fable the whole record of historical Christianity, have held general meetings for the vindication and the promulgation of their incredulity; but we have never heard of any Infidel Convention which had the audacity to appropriate to its own skeptical uses the hallowed birth of our Saviour. We offer this illustration of the absurdity of a Democratic National Convention on the Fourth of July in no irreverent spirit. It will occur, undoubtedly, to many serious minds, and it naturally springs from the self-suggesting analogy between religious and political apostasy. Its extraordinary misnomer, under which it doggedly maintains the most aristocratic of notions, while it is theoretically devoted to the cause of universal freedom, having become a device too stale to deceive even babes and sucklings, the Democratic party has resorted to the ingenious expedient of meeting upon the present anniversary, and fancying that windy professions of patriotism will not be too severely criticised upon a day sacred to Liberty."—*Tribune*, July 4, 1868.

What H. G. Knew about the Democratic Party in 1871.

"We learn with pleasure that quite a number of the Democratic leaders have resolved to push B. Gratz Brown, the new Governor of Missouri, for next President. We do not see how they could better this choice. Gratz isn't much to look at, but he has ideas in his head, and is rather honest for a successful politician. He was a good second-rate Editor, makes a fair speech, is a radical Free-Trader, and can get some negro as well as some white Republican votes; whereas any known Copperhead will get none of either but those who can't help themselves. If the Democrats were in the ascendant, they wouldn't touch him with a ten-foot pole—that we all understand—but they are the under dog at present, and must resort to strategy to get uppermost. We assure them that they might select a much worse candidate than Gratz Brown; and since he has just helped Frank Blair into the Senate, we assume that the Blair family will go their length for him. They mustn't attempt to put him off with the Vice-Presidency, for he has already a better place; but if they will suppress their Ku-Klux, put themselves on their good behavior for two years, run Gratz Brown for President, make a noise about the Tariff in the next Congress, but take care not to pass any bill till they get control of the White House, they have a chance to win the next election. If they choose to run a clean Copperhead ticket, on a platform that ignores the last ten years of our country's history, the road is a beaten one, and they ought, by this time, to know whither it leads them. We can but give them good counsel; they can take it or not at the same price."—*Tribune*, February 6, 1871.

What H. G. Knew about the Democrats in January, 1867.

"Suffice it that, as the result of a most anxious, intent contemplation of the history of our great struggle, we do most undoubtingly believe that the Democrats, as a party, were not a heart for the Union in its terrible struggle with Secession—that they did not rejoice at its triumphs nor deplore its defeats. We do not say that a majority of them wished the Union permanently dissolved: we know, and have often stated, that they did not; but they believed that Union defeats and disasters would discredit and destroy the Republican ascendancy, and that they would thereupon come into power and coax the Rebels back into the Union by all manner of concessions and prostrations to the Slave Power. They had no notion that the Union could (or should) be saved otherwise than by letting the slaveholders have their way in it; and the road to this, they realized, lay not, through Union victories but the contrary."—*Tribune*, January 28, 1867.

What H. G. Knew about the Democrats in October, 1867.

"If there were neither a newspaper nor a common school in the country, the Democratic party would be far stronger than it is. Neither elementary instruction nor knowledge of transpiring events is needed to teach the essential articles of the Democratic creed: 'Love men and hate niggers.' The less one learns and knows, the more certain he is to 'vote the reg'lar ticket from A to Izzard.' But Republicanism rests on a radically different basis, and is sustained by wholly diverse considerations. It lives by intelligence; it dies in the inky, stifling atmosphere of ignorance. Caavass almost any township in the land, and distinguish those who take from those who fail to take a newspaper, and you will find that two-thirds of those who take vote Republican, while three-fourths of those who read nothing but a chance paper picked up for a few moments in a bar-room vote the Democratic ticket, and will not be persuaded to touch any other."—*Tribune*, October 11, 1867.

What H. G. Knew about the Democrats in March, 1868.

"When the Democratic orators talk of forgiveness we are ready to listen to them, for forgiveness is a manly and a Christian duty; but when they ask us to forget, they make a demand to which, without eradicating our manhood, it is impossible to accede. Is there anything to be ashamed of in the struggles of the Republic to govern itself that the citizens of the Republic should banish them from recollection? Was it a good deed to rebel? Was it a bad one to encounter and suppress rebellion?"—*Tribune, March 3, 1868.*

What H. G. Knew about the Democrats in August, 1869.

"The question now arresting the attention of the public, 'Is the Democratic party alive or dead?' is susceptible of opposite answers, according as it is understood. It is the old perplexity of Giles Scroggins on awaking from a perplexity of Alcoholic obfuscation: 'Now be I Giles Scroggins, or ben't I? If I be Giles Scroggins I have lost four good oxen; if I ben't, I have found a cart.' On the whole, we judge that the Democracy of 1872 will remind the country of that of 1863, by contrast rather than by similarity. It will evince a youthful friskiness and contempt for old fogyism, and insist that it is thoroughly posted as to the time of day. We shall not be surprised to find it nominating a colored Vice-President and clamorous for a conciliation and fraternization of all races and castes. There are no more zealous Christians than are made of veteran reprobates when they do get converted, and we expect to see the Republicans left away in the back ground whenever Democracy shall see its account in a zealous and sweeping assertion of the inalienable Rights of Man. And, so far from objecting to this, we shall only insist that they do not claim that they abolished Slavery and put down the Rebellion, overcoming the most strenuous resistance of the Republicans. That would be going a trifle too far, and anything short of it we shall endure with serene patience and bland equanimity."—*Tribune, August 31, 1869.*

What H. G. Knew about the Democrats in November, 1870.

"The next Congress is an affliction to those confiding Democrats who innocently looked for a majority. To break the force of their disappointment, *The World* parades a table, wherein it counts nothing but Democratic gains in the States yet to hold elections, claims Democrats where Republicans are elected, magnifies to ludicrous dimensions the Revenue Reform diversion, and caps the climax by counting all the Democrats as Free Traders."—*Tribune, November 17, 1870.*

What H. G. Knew about the Democratic Party in March, 1871.

"The Democratic party of to-day is simply the Rebellion seeking to achieve its essential purposes within and through the Union. A victory which does not enable it to put its feet on the necks of the Black race seems to the bulk of its adherents not worth having. Its heart is just where it was when it regarded Slavery and the Constitution as two names for one thing. It hates the Generals who led the Union Armies to Victory, and rarely misses a chance to disparage them. It clings to that exaggerated notion of State Rights which makes them the shield of all manner of wrongs and abuses. It takes counsel of its hates even more than of its aspirations, and will be satisfied with no triumph that does not result in the expulsion of all active, earnest Republicans from the South."—*Tribune, March 23, 1871.*

What H. G. Knew about the Democratic Party in April, 1871.

"To 'Love run and hate niggers' has so long been the essence of the Democratic faith that the cooler, wiser heads of the party vainly spend their strength in efforts to lift it out of the rut in which they plainly see that it can only run to perdition. While Slavery endured, negro-hate was an element of positive strength in our political contests, so that the Constitutional Conventions of this and other free States were usually carried by the Democrats on the strength of appeals to the coarser and baser whites to 'Let the nigger know his place.'"—*Tribune, April 7, 1871.*

What H. G. Knew about the Democratic Party in September, 1871.

"The world will be moved to mirth if it reads the manifesto of the National Democratic Executive Committee disowning the Democratic paternity of the pamphlet, 'Concession, or how the Lost Cause May be Regained, and the Independence of the South Secured.' Nobody supposed that the National Democratic Committee had authorized the issue of the pamphlet; but it is Democratic in tone and temper for all that, and it speaks the honest sentiments, no doubt, of thousands of Southern Democrats, who will, in defiance of repeated winks and nods of disapproval from the Democratic Managers, persist in talking about the possibilities of the Lost Cause at the most unseemly times. But the suggestion that the Radicals have concocted this precious farrago of nonsense and treason for electioneering purposes is quite as ludicrous as the vaunt that the Democracy is the only party that can 'bring about return to honesty and consitutional laws.' This last phrase is exquisite fooling."—*Tribune, September 6, 1871.*

WHAT HORACE GREELEY KNOWS

ABOUT

*Leading Democrats at the North and at the South, especially those who
now Profess to be His Especial Friends, and
His Devoted Supporters,
&c., &c., &c.*

What H. G. Knows about John Quincy Adams, of Massachusetts.

"Mr. John Quincy Adams, son of his father, grandson of his grandfather, and the small grandson of his great-grandfather, has nevertheless the wisdom to perceive that what the Democratic party in Massachusetts, as well as throughout the country, needs, is an act of oblivion. He wants the record of the party shaken off; wants it understood that Reconstruction and Negro Suffrage are definitely settled; wants to fight the approaching battle in Massachusetts on financial questions and the Liquor Law; and altogether shows how admirably he could get along if people would only remember and forget in accordance with his directions. Of course, the young man was nominated again for Governor of Massachusetts. That, we believe, is the regular performance. It is noticeable, however, that the platform on which he is placed begins by slapping him in the face. It announces that the Democratic party of Massachusetts have no new theories to advance. The people will take them at their word, and hold Mr. John Quincy Adams, son, grandson, and small grandson, to the test on the old theories, concerning which the party has been brought to judgment before."—*Tribune*, August 25, 1869.

What H. G. Knows about Gen. Beauregard, of Louisiana.

"Mr. G. Pierre Toutant Beauregard has issued another proclamation, not exactly in the famous 'Beauty and Booty' style, but as near to it as the change of circumstances will permit. At one time, says G. P. T. B., 'in order to escape the hatred of northern fanatics, I thought of seeking a refuge in Brazil, but the generous sentiments expressed by President Johnson toward the Southern States have persuaded me to remain in Louisiana.' We are not sure, but we think President Johnson should suspend his generous sentiments long enough to allow this foolish braggart to complete his meditated exile. We are not in favor of colonization or expatriation on any considerable scale, for the South needs workers, but the Beauregard Bourbons will never work, will never do anything but blow the expiring embers of that discord they helped kindle, and the sooner they go the better for this country. We have no special ill-will to Brazil, but if Mr. Beauregard should like to go there, we will contribute something toward furnishing him a free passage."—*Tribune*, December 14, 1865.

What H. G. Knows about "Jew" Bankers and Aug. Belmont, of New York.

"The letter of our Paris correspondent gives further accounts of the Jew Banking-House opened by the Democratic United States Chargé, Mr. Belmont, at the Hague. The various Rothschilds are severally citizens of the various countries where they reside, and accordingly it would be treason for any one openly to take up the Russian loan, though considered a profitable job. In this dilemma, Mr. Belmont's loan shop comes into action. Our Correspondent gives us an account that the Baron Rothschild, of Frankfort, was closeted for two weeks with Mr. Belmont at the Hague, and again at Frankfort, and added to this, that the Russian loan has been taken in the name and through the agency of Mr. Belmont, our Chargé aforesaid, for his relatives and patrons, the Rothschilds! To these facts we call the attention of the Administration, suggesting the immediate and thorough investigation of the charges in question, and if they should prove true, as there is every reason to believe, the prompt recall of Mr. Belmont; or if he wishes to continue his money-shop abroad, let him do it separately from the Chargé-ship and the sanction of this Government. Has our foreign diplomacy touched bottom, or not? If not, what next?"—*Tribune*, October 2, 1858.

What H. G. Knew about the late James Gordon Bennett.

"Scotland, noted for its piety and industry, has given birth to the two among the greatest villains of modern times, Burke and Bennett. Burke, after killing some seventy people and selling their bodies, was hanged. Bennett was never hanged, but he is gibbeted as moral carrion swinging to and fro in the sight, and odious in the nostrils of humanity. He came to this country some twenty years ago, and immediately took the first rank through the daily press as a moral Thug. He attacked the timid, the gentle, the generous, and the forgiving. No innocence or courtesy was proof against his brutality. No amount of forgiveness or forbearance softened him. No extent of public service, no simplicity or purity of private life, no single-souled devotion to a great idea, ever softened his ruffianism. He lived on defamation, slander, obloquy, beastliness, lies. Of course such conduct could not go uncouraged even in New York. If he had lived further South he would have been simply beaten to death or shot. Here he was simply horsewhipped. Seven times in the public streets of this city was Bennett horsewhipped. Horsewhipped in open day, and the lash well laid on his morally scrofulous back. This does not include sundry kickings out of hotels which he received, or the crushing ceremony of a company leaving the table when he ventured to sit down among them."—*Tribune*, August 20, 1853.

What H. G. Knew about the late T. H. Benton, of Missouri.

"Mr. Benton came into the Senate upon the admission of Missouri into the Union—1821—and has been three times re-elected." * * * "In this fortune he has been favored by the character of his constituency, forming the vanguard and skirmishers of Western progress, many of them relying on the documents he sends them for their political information, and scarcely seeing any beside. He understands the art of speaking and legislating 'for Buncombe,' and his Pre-emption and Graduation projects are exactly calculated to extend and deepen his popularity on the wild prairies of Missouri. Around St. Louis he is better known. Of late years, however, he has hardly visited Missouri at all, remaining with his family near Washington from Session to Session, taking care to charge ample mileage for his constructive journeys back and forward—sometimes charging around by *New Orleans* in order to swell his emoluments by a round thousand. That such a man contrives to preserve a reputation among even a moderate portion of our countrymen is considerably less creditable than amazing. But, 'Tis distance lends enchantment to the view.'"—*Tribune*, June 1, 1842.

What H. G. Knows about Jeremiah S. Black, of Pennsylvania.

"Nor ought we here to overlook the terrible light just thrown, by the decision of the California Circuit Judges in the famous case of the New Almaden mines, upon Mr. Black's own connection with that business. As Attorney-General of the United States, Mr. Black, it now appears, has wantonly or maliciously devoted himself and employed all the moral and diplomatic power of the Government for years to deprive certain private persons of their just rights in a great mining property, and to blacken their characters in charges of forgery and fraud, now solemnly thrown back upon the Government itself by its own Circuit Judges. The details of the Attorney-General's proceedings in this case would be incredible, were they not set forth in documents attested by himself, with an audacity or an insensibility to shame almost beyond parallel. To submit the name of an officer, whose ministerial record bears such brands upon its face, to the American Senate for confirmation as a member of our highest judicial tribunal, is surely a flight of insolence so extraordinary as to partake of some of the most captivating traits of the imagination."—*Tribune*, February 20, 1861.

What H. G. Knows about Francis P. Blair, Jr., of Missouri.

"Frank Blair is a violent, versatile, and able adventurer, with just enough of the fool in his composition to be dangerous to his own party. He has an extraordinary talent for making himself uncomfortable to his friends and serviceable to his enemies. He will be a valuable auxiliary to the Republicans in the Senate, and he can do us a still greater kindness by accepting *The World's* invitation to become a national leader of the Democracy. Wherever a stupendous political blunder is possible, we can depend upon Frank Blair to make it. Nor are the vagaries of *The World* less startling than those of Mr. Blair. That paper is an adventurer in Journalism, just as Blair is an adventurer in politics. It is not the consistent advocate of principles, but a restless speculator, watching the fluctuations of the political market—a bear to-day, a bull to-morrow—always trying to anticipate, by just a day or so, the changes in the current, and always making a mistake in its calculations. The repudiation of Blair in 1868 was a commercial venture which did not pay."—*Tribune*, January 31, 1871.

"Gen. Frank Blair knows his people better than the dilettanti politicians who imagine they make campaigns and public opinion in the Manhattan Club.

"The Democratic party has no reason but one to exist, and that is the blind haste and ignorance of a solid and compact mass of the mourners of Slavery, allied with the Northern party of corruption and plunder.

"The prosperous gentlemen who make their living out of this party would, doubtless, like well enough to wash their hands of such vulgar stains as come from midnight outrage and murder. But if they attempt to cover up these infamies by sneering apologies or dishonest silence, they must assume their full responsibility. In the lines we have quoted lies the inevitable programme of the Democratic party for the next election. This malignant minority has not yet accepted the results of the war and of the legislation that followed. The hucksters who make a trade of principles would not hesitate to cast their State secession record behind them, if they could gain anything by it. But the unrepentant marauders of the South, and their ignorant sympathizers of the West, will continue to dictate for them their platforms and their policy."—*Tribune*, February 28, 1871.

"A friend of Gen. F. P. Blair's has revived a letter, written by that gentleman in 1865, to show that his respect for the Confederate heroes, which he manifested so offensively at the Long Branch banquet, is no new thing, but a feeling which he has always cherished. The letter in question is one introducing a clergyman who proposed erecting a 'monumental cathedral' in honor of the rebel dead, and Mr. Blair saw 'nothing to disprove, but much to admire in this effort to consummate [commemorate?] their virtues of constancy and courage.' The clergyman's name is not given, but we presume he is the Rev. Mr. Rogers, of Memphis, well-known for some time as an advanced ritualist, and now a Roman Catholic, whose project for a monumental cathedral attracted, about four years ago, a good deal of interest. Mr. Rogers proposed that the surviving friends of the confederate warriors should be allowed to erect in the church statues, memorial windows, tablets, &c., inscribed with the names of any individuals whose deeds they chose thus to honor; so that there was no reason why Booth, Wirz, or any other of the vilest agents of the secession conspiracy, might not receive a sort of canonization, and the gorgeous rays through tinted panes shed down upon the worshippers a reminiscence of treachery and murder."—*Tribune*, July 17, 1869.

What H. G. Knows about the Blair Family, and of Judge Blair, of Maryland.

"Mr. Montgomery Blair is perhaps the most conspicuous and illustrious Washington Politician now living. His triumphs have been the wonder of this generation. Under Mr. Lincoln's administration he was a Cabinet officer. Another member of his family was in the Cabinet, a third was an Admiral in the Navy, in charge of the most profitable blockading station in the service, while a brother was in the Army, or rather oscillating between the Army and the Speakership of the House. If Mr. Seymour had been elected we have no doubt that the whole Administration would have been transferred to Silver Springs, and the multitudinous Blairs would have taken the Government on contract. The election of Grant would seem to have put an end to this pleasing anticipation, and to remand the whole Blair family back to the appalling necessity of working for their daily bread. When Andrew Johnson became President he was welcomed by the Blairs and the Washington Politicians, who brought him assurances of the 'support' of the Democratic party, called him a 'second Jackson,' promised him unanimous renomination, and journeyed to Philadelphia to indorse him. They so preyed upon the vanity and the ambition of the poor man that they dragged him over the country like a travelling circus. No man ever demeaned himself more than President Johnson. No man ever kept a bargain with more sincerity; and if any President ever deserved 'the support of the Democracy,' Mr. Johnson did, in return for his 'support' of the Blair family. But the Convention met, and instead of receiving the 'kingdoms of the world and the glory of them,' the confiding 'second Jackson' was curtly dismissed with a sort of cold, shivering, contemptuous support, and the honors were divided between the unpopular Seymour and a hungry Blair."—*Tribune*, 1865.

What H. G. Knows about Alderman Boole, of New York.

"Ald. Francis J. A. Boole was yesterday nominated and confirmed as City Inspector, vice Daniel E. Delavan. Mr. Boole is a man of decided ability and energy, and has the best opportunity to make himself popular and honored that man ever had. If he will only clean our streets thoroughly and keep them clean at a reasonable cost for the next two or three years, he may have thereafter his choice of the offices within the gift of our citizens."—*Tribune*, June 28, 1868.

What H. G. Knows about Jesse D. Bright, of Kentucky.

"If anything could be more impudent than the address of Mr. Jesse D. Bright to the Democratic Convention of Kentucky it would be the assurance of a body which makes even the faintest pretense of loyalty to the United States in choosing such a man as its permanent President. It suits the purpose of the Democratic party just now to cry out, 'Let the South come back;' yet not content with doing all in their power to retard reconstruction, they must select as a standard-bearer one of the most conspicuous of the Northern promoters of secession. They profess a sudden veneration for the Constitution; yet this man, who presided over their councils in one of the chief States of the Union, and whom they have nominated for a Presidential elector, was expelled from the United States Senate for trying by armed force to tear the Constitution to pieces. They have effrontery to ask for the votes of the soldiers and sailors, of wounded veterans, of the men who perilled everything in fighting for the flag; yet Mr. Bright declares in his speech at Frankfort, '*I was opposed to the war from beginning to the end.*' Mr. Bright has made a mistake. If he has forgotten the cause of his expulsion from Congress, the loyal people have not forgotten it."—*Tribune*, February 29, 1868.

What H. G. Knows about R. C. Breckinridge, of Kentucky.

"Gen. Combs,' said Breckinridge to Leslie, awhile ago, 'I consider that you have done more for your party and received less return for it than any man living.' 'Just the opposite of your case,' responded the General; 'I judge that you have done less for *your* party and got more for it than any other live man.' And they were both pretty nearly right. Mr. Breckinridge delivered in the House a very good eulogy on Mr. Clay, and has probably made some good stump speeches, but they do not seem to bear printing. He made one in '57 or '58 on Kansas and the Lecompton scheme, which was not only bad, but poor, and another on 'Southern Rights,' in Frankfort, last Winter, which was distinguished by every trait of the worst effusions of the Fire-Eaters except ability and eloquence. Unless we sadly misjudge, he is destined to be badly beaten in his own State."—*Tribune*, June 25, 1860.

What H. G. Knows about Erastus Brooks's "New York Express."

"We have charged *The New York Express* with treachery to the party it pretends to support, and it has not dared to respond. It has picked passages out of our proofs of the treachery to which it makes some sort of reply; but to the accusation itself, it silently pleads guilty. That paper professes to support the 'American' party, and is daily egging on that party to nominate a State Ticket, which it virtually promises to support, while all the time it is doing its utmost to elect, not the 'American' ticket, but that of the Slave Democracy. It is to help that party in its desperate struggle for power that it pretends to be 'American,' while all its indications and arguments, its leanings and its libels, look to securing a triumph for the New York allies of the Border Ruffians.

"We deprecate no fair, manly opposition. We support no principle, no measure, no candidate in whose behalf we do not court the most rigorous scrutiny. We would have all men free as air to vote against us, if they do not think with us. But let us have civilized, not savage, antagonism in politics. Let each display his true colors, and stand or fall with them, as the public judgment shall decree. But this displaying the flag of one party in order to win success for another is not honest. It is not the manly frankness of a patriot, but the cunning dodge of a pirate. Let us see who consent to be the decoy candidates of this unworthy juggle."—*Tribune*, September 11, 1857.

What H. G. Knows about James Brooks, of New York.

"No Stonewall Jackson, no park of Rebel artillery, could do such deadly harm to the Union cause as would a general belief in the charges of James Brooks, the Member from the VIIIth, impeaching the integrity and loyalty of the President of the United States."—*Tribune*, May 12, 1863.

"The Hon. James Brooks lately made a speech at a public supper party in this city, which should have been preserved as a touching exposition of Democratic mournfulness by the art of a stenographer, but that Nemesis of unwary politicians not having been present on the occasion, we can only snatch a fragment from unmerited oblivion. Mr. Brooks not being irrigated with wine, and his wits therefore not being out, pathetically described the havoc done during the last few dreadful years by the Republican iconoclasts, and insisted that the first duty of the Democracy in this hour of triumph was to enthrone their ugly idols again and fall down in fetish worship as of old. But letting his thoughts wander beyond the little realm ruled from Albany he became painfully

conscious that the most precious of the idols is irreparably smashed. 'Let us,' said Mr. Brooks, 'have everything as nearly as possible as before; but I suppose it is impossible to re-establish slavery.' His tone betrayed his bitter regret that the idol is shattered beyond the possibility of Democratic repair, and his auditors plainly inferred that he would engage in the work of sticking the fragments together if he imagined it would be of any use. We rejoice that we can offer Mr. Brooks some consolation in his sore distress by bidding him reflect that he is himself sufficient proof that the leopard has but changed his spots; the blacks are indeed irrevocably free, but the white democrats are yet slaves."—*Tribune*, January 11, 1870.

"Mr. James Brooks sneers at the suggestion that Protection tends to reduce Prices, just as though he had sat at the feet of Calhoun and John Randolph, rather than of Clay and George Evans. And yet this same Brooks exults over the fact that the enhancement last year of the duties on Copper had been followed by a marked *decline* in the price of that metal, just as though it did not prove the very proposition which he deems so preposterous. No man ever before confuted his own fundamental assumption with such profound unconsciousness."—*Tribune*, April 2, 1870.

What H. G. Knows about James Buchanan, of Pennsylvania.

"If we, too, might lapse into Mr. Quincy's train of desponding reflection, we would appeal to the young men of the country, standing now in the morning of life, strong, cultured, and unselfish, hoping for public honors, but still aiming at public usefulness. We would say: Do you wish to be President? Look at the old man who dreamed in his youth, and who has found in the sober certainty of waking bliss only bitterness! Who, in securing the stool for which, through so many long years, he panted, sealed his own shame, and who has won at last only the contempt of his enemies, and the falsehood of his friends! In these, the stormy times of the Republic, he expires a driveler, and only not a show because nobody cares to see him. Tried and wanting; trusted and faithless; sworn and forsworn; old without veneration; unfortunate without pity; his task unperformed; his duty undone; his name a by-word; his existence a reproach, and his reputation a stench, he counts the hours, and awaits the day which will see him, to the joy of the good, for the last time totter down the steps of the White House, to crawl into night and darkness, and there vainly to beg of the Muse of History, which can ill spare such an example, immunity from being remembered."—*Tribune*, February 21, 1861.

What H. G. Knew about John C. Calhoun, of South Carolina.

"Mr. Calhoun is a very able man, but Slavery, which includes meaner intellects in one general debauchery, did not spare even his. He was incapable of saying what he did not believe, but he was incapable also, and very often, of distinguishing between a sound and a sophistical premise. His temper, we think, was not very unequable; and yet he was sometimes betrayed in the heat of debate and through the poverty of his resources into saying things which, coming from other lips, would have been laughable. The vice of paradox had pretty complete possession of his mind, and kept it without any violation of natural laws; for those who act continually upon the defensive, and plant themselves upon solecisms, have no resort but strategy, and that of no high or scientific character. Thus Mr. Calhoun could not have been thinking either accurately or calmly when he said to Mr. John Quincy Adams that if the discussion of the slave question should produce a dissolution of the Union, which he thought not improbable, 'the South would, from necessity, be compelled to form an alliance, offensive and defensive, with Great Britain.' This remark, which was an exceedingly weak one when it was made in 1820, and long before the question of the Abolition of Slavery had been agitated in the Imperial Parliament, would still less bear sober repetition to-day; and yet this childish presumption, which is half a threat and half a wild hope, the delusion of despair, is repeated in a parrot-like way by the present feeble generation of slaveowners, who, catching also at another notion, still less coherent, of Mr. Calhoun's talk of the necessity of a Southern 'military community,' and in accordance with this prattle organize little militia companies which once a year shoot at a target and get as valorous and as drunk as ever Alexander the Great was."—*Tribune*.

What H. G. Knows about Lewis D. Campbell, of Ohio.

"When the XXXIVth Congress first convened, early in December, 1855, the organization of the House was impeded for two months or over by inability to unite a dozen or so of its members upon any candidate for Speaker for whom sincere Republicans

could vote. Scott Harrison has died since, as have Dunn, Valk, Broome, Fuller, and perhaps Moore; and now Lew. Campbell turns up a Democratic Senator in Ohio, with Ed. Ball a ditto Representative; he having played a like rôle in the House. Ball turned out some years ago; Campbell sank gradually through the mire of Johnsonism into the pit which now enslimes him. Considering his Anti-Slavery professions in the past, Lew. is probably the most abandoned, shameless renegade since Benedict Arnold."—*Tribune*, October 19, 1869.

"What an awful thing that *Congressional Globe* is! Here is Col. L. D. Campbell running in Ohio, as a 'Democrat,' for Congress, and somebody has been looking up his old speeches in the House, in which he said, more than once, that, 'the Democratic party had been on both sides of every political question which has been agitated since the foundation of the Government,' on 'the tariff and the currency' especially. Moreover, the resurrectionists have unearthed not only the Colonel's Know-Nothing speeches, but also a fine assortment of anti-Slavery orations, of the fiercest and most benevolent description. They call him in Ohio 'the ready-made combination candidate,' and seem to think, as he represents both sides so beautifully, that there is no necessity of running anybody else in his District."—*Tribune*, September 3, 1871.

What H. G. Knew about Lewis Cass, of Michigan.

"Mr. Cass enjoys the high honor of standing at the head of a class. This is the political mock-auctioneers of our times—men who keep the red flag flying continually, and perpetually expose their brass and pinchbeck, declare them to be pure gold, and try to impose upon everybody. He is the head and front of the whole breed of dough-faces, of which it is to be hoped this generation will see the last; but perhaps not. It is hard to eradicate an entire breed, especially when it is bad. Foul weeds need perpetual uprooting. The signs of the times, however, denote that most of them will be brought to the stake for their crimes. Let us, at least, hope so. If we only get rid of the troublesome rascals, and bring the North and South face to face on the Slavery question we should have peace and harmony. The question would then be settled once for all. But the doughfaces and compromisers thrust in their time-serving interference and make all the mischief. The Lord deliver us from the whole doughface race—timid, hare-like, truckling, spongy, prevaricating, backing out, selling out crew. If such a thing existed as a political jew-shop, the whole tribe could not be pawned for enough to replace the wig of the venerable head of the order upon whose merits we have descanted."—*Tribune*, February 10, 1855.

What H. G. Knows about what Chief Justice Chase did at the Impeachment trial.

"The man who has done more than all others, unless in a pecuniary way, to secure this result, is Chief Justice Chase. He decided the vote of Mr. Van Winkle. He did his utmost—happily in vain—to carry off Mr. Sprague. We doubt that Mr. Henderson would have voted as he did but for the Chief Justice's exertions. Those exertions saved Andrew Johnson from the verdict which we feel that he has worked hard and successfully to deserve."—*Tribune*, May 18, 1868.

What H. G. Knew about J. M. Cavanaugh, of Montana.

"Here is the most charming illustration of the beauties of the franking privilege that we have seen yet. The Hon. J. M. Cavanaugh, Delegate from Montana, franks the printed circulars of a Washington tavern-keeper. This beats the Hon. James Brooks, who used to frank the hand-bills of a chicken show. Nobody was uncharitable enough to suppose that Mr. Brooks was recompensed with prize poultry or a basket of eggs; but when it comes to advertising a tavern, the best friends of Mr. Cavanaugh cannot help wondering whether he pays full price for his board, or has the free run of the bar. Is it possible that the enterprising host of the ——— Hotel charges all Mr. Cavanaugh's drinks to the 'postage account,' or anything of that sort?"—*Tribune*, March 27, 1871.

What H. G. Knows about John Cochrane, of New York.

"The Hon. John Cochrane, M. C., made a speech at a Democratic meeting in Brooklyn on Monday evening, wherein he charged the responsibility of Old Brown's madness distinctly on Gov. Seward and the Republicans! They, argued the Hon. orator, have been plotting to array one section of the Union against the other, and here is the result! Far different, he argued, was the position and action of his own party. 'We, as members of the Democratic party,' says Mr. John Cochrane, 'never have understood that we'

are to be arrayed against our fellow-citizens of the South.' * * * 'We Democrats, who have *always* maintained the opposite side of the issue, must hold our adversaries to the consequences of their treachery.'—*Tribune*, October 26, 1859.

"Mr. John Cochrane has made a little speech in the House on his own political history and landmarks. It was very vague in its statements, tender in its allusions, and pervaded by a desperate anxiety to be funny. We can state Mr. Cochrane's case even more briefly, and a great deal more frankly than he states it himself. Here is the naked truth: In 1847-8, Mr. Cochrane bolted from, fought against, and helped to beat the party he now supports, because it stood upon the platform of Non-Interference, or Squatter Sovereignty, with regard to Slavery in the Territories. He then proclaimed, in every conceivable way, his devotion to the principle of Free Soil, or the exclusion by Congress of Slavery from the Territories. In 1859-60, that same National Democracy has changed its position on the Slavery question, and assumed one far more extreme and obnoxious than that it held in 1847-8. It then held, at least throughout the Free States, that there could be no law for Slavery in any Territory, until the People of that Territory see fit to enact one, and that Squatter Sovereignty was therefore better for the cause of Free Labor than Congressional Sovereignty. Now that party indorses the Dred Scott decision, and its Chief declares that this decision makes *all* Federal Territory Slave Territory, and denies to the people of each or any Territory any control over the matter. They must protect Slavery whether they like it or not. They cannot exclude or abolish it until their Territory shall become a State. This is the doctrine to-day held out, not only by the President and Cabinet, but by a majority of the Democrats in Congress—the doctrine of the party which John Cochrane does his best to uphold. Is he not a double-dyed apostate? And is there on the wide earth one man who believes that he would have so 'turned his back on himself,' had he not found this his readiest road to office and power?"—*Tribune*, January 7, 1860.

"After it had been thought best that John Cochrane should retire from the military service, his voice and vote were still given to the party whose triumphs were *not* hailed with cheers at Richmond nor along the lines of the rebel armies. Hence he was two years since nominated and elected Attorney-General by the Union Party of our State. But a fresh election approaches and he is not renominated—perhaps because no delegate to the Union convention happened to think of it—possibly, because rumors were afloat that he was already plowing with all manner of questionable beifiers. Though he had not yet been slimed over preparatory to swallowing by John Van Buren, it was instinctively felt that he was getting ready to go down easy. Not being offered a fresh nomination on our side and not having changed his politics for nearly if not quite four years, Gen. Cochrane seems to have concluded that it was high time for a somersault. Perhaps it was.

"But Gen. Cochrane can deceive neither himself nor others. Right well does he know that he is deserting and betraying the cause of universal freedom. Right well is he aware that he is dealing falsely, cruelly by the humble and imperilled four millions whom he was among the first to summon to pour out their blood in defence of the Union. No matter what protests and reservations he may see fit to make, Gen. Cochrane, like Gen. Slocum, Judge Grover, and John W. Edmonds, after having summoned the blacks to our aid in a vital emergency, now whistles them down the wind, remits them unprotected to the tender mercies of those who think 'a nigger is good in his place;' but that place is under the feet of the whites, and his true God-ordained position eternally that of a spurned, despised menial and drudge."—*Tribune*, October 25, 1865.

What H. G. Knows about S. S. Cox, of Ohio—New York.

"Sunset Cox, who has been called in to aid the sinking cause of the Democracy in New York, was speaking in Ohio on the late Presidential canvass. He gloried in the name of Copperhead, and said it was a Copperhead that saved the nation of Israel in the wilderness—alluding to the lifting up of the brazen serpent in sight of the stricken people. A man shouted out in the crowd, 'Yes, but the Copperheads bit the nation, and no relief was gained till the chief Copperhead was strung up on a pole in sight of the camp.' The orator subsided."—*Tribune*, November 3, 1865.

"Cox reminds us of the old Greek story of the donkey that devoured a rope of straw at one end while a foolish old woman twisted it industriously at the other. 'Is Cox like the donkey or the old woman?' some reader may ask. Whichever you please. O gentle inquirer! But whether he is asinine or anile, he is no better than a Disunionist of that worst of variety, which prattles upon Northern platforms instead of fighting on Southern fields. We confess that we do not see how Cox differs from Jeff. Davis except that Davis is the cleverer man of the two; for we do not think that any one with the average modicum of brains would stultify himself and insult his hearers, through a whole evening, by alternately blowing hot and cold, by talking loyalty and treason in the same breath, or by seductively sighing for dear Virginia to come back, while he bid Massachusetts be off with herself instantler."—*Tribune*, January 17, 1863.

What H. G. Knows about Caleb Cushing, of Massachusetts.

"Mr. Caleb Cushing is about the hardest cushion ever pressed by the weight of public opinion. He is rhinoscerously tough as to his outside, and inside he is like the apples of Sodom, full of ashes and not very finely sifted. We do not say that he is a bad man, but with our hat off and our best bow, we pronounce him to be a bold one. A great many years ago, a certain Francis Bacon established the inductive philosophy in science; in these recent days, Mr. Caleb Cushing proposes to establish a philosophy of rascality. He believes the worse to be the better reason, and he is not afraid to say so. We respect him for his bravery, just as we respect the gentleman with the black cuticle and the barbed tail. He flies with immense boldness into the face and eyes of modern humanity. We have heard that he almost killed Miss Bremer by his exquisite and over-mastering preposterousness in favor of wickedness. The poor tourist was not used to that sort of thing. She could not understand the equitable side of iniquity. She was bothered by Mr. Cushing's idea of Christian stealing, evangelical burglary, religious invasion, virtuous tyranny and humane subjugation. The truth is, Attorney Caleb is nothing if not paradoxical. He is a Democrat, and he therefore supports an aristocracy founded upon the color of his fellow-creatures' skin. In his Utopia there would be none but white folks. Caleb is also for progress. Therefore it is necessary to consign every human race, save one, to a perpetual terrestrial perdition. And so, we suppose, if he felt himself interested in the Christian cause he would advise nine human beings out of ten to remain infidels and idolators; and that if his mind were utterly occupied by a passion for the predominance of mercantile honesty, he would distribute gratuitous thimbles to enterprising young gentlemen (the peas included) and furnish the Peter Funks with any quantity of watches warranted not to go, and to be of the most unmistakable pinchbeck."—*Tribune*, December 1, 1857.

What H. G. Knew about Jefferson Davis and the Democrats.

"Mr. Jefferson Davis has recently added his rejoicings to those of the Democrats in Connecticut, and assured them of his sympathies. As he mourned when Grant drove Lee from Richmond, when Sherman carried the Stars and Stripes through the heart of the South, so he mourned over every Republican triumph at the polls; and as he rejoiced when Union troops were routed at Chancellorsville, he rejoices over the election of Mr. English. That is very natural; we do not expect the leader of the rebellion to exult in any success of the party which crushed it, but it is also very significant. Great must be the comfort felt by the Democrats to know that Mr. Davis believes 'the Connecticut election to be one of which that State may well be proud.' It is a compliment which we rejoice he never paid to the Republican party; we ask approval from the loyal people, and not from the men who sought to destroy the Union. Let the Conservatives and Democrats make the most of Jeff. Davis' pride in their Connecticut victory. We do not envy them the approval and alliance of a man who did his utmost to divide the Republic, and to establish an empire upon Slavery. We are perfectly content that Mr. Davis should be proud of the Democrats, and that the Democrats should be proud of Mr. Davis."—*Tribune*, April 10, 1867.

What H. G. Knows about Garrett Davis, of Kentucky.

"We have two requests to make of Mr. Garrett Davis. The first is that in his admirable speeches and epistles he will let the ancient Romans alone, partly because we are tired of hearing of them, but particularly because it is evident that Mr. Garrett Davis knows very little about them.

"The second request is that he will not be so tremendously solemn and so profoundly down in the mouth. As he knows so much about Sejanus, perhaps he has also heard of Heraclitus, an old gentleman who used to be always blubbering in the streets of Ephesus. Well, Mr. Davis seems to us to be a good deal like this water-cart philosopher and founder of the venerable sect of the Boo-Hoos. It is right enough to cry now and then, at the proper hour and in the proper place, but to be crying and croaking all the time seems to us to be a culpable waste of water and of wind. Mr. Davis, if he weeps too soon and too much, will be as dry-eyed in six months as a widow of five years' standing listening to the proposal of a new lover. Hear him: When Gen. Grant is thus elected (u h!) and inaugurated President (ah!) then will the revolution of our Government (alas!) be complete and permanent (chew!) and a long dismal night of despotism (the Lord have mercy on us!) will 'brood over the country.' (Three groans, fifty sighs, and one howl of reckless despair.) We must beg Mr. Davis not to give way to his emotions, which, however creditable they may be to his heart, might, if indulged in, result in cerebral congestion, to the infinite damage of his head. Perhaps, after all, if we may judge by the past, Congress will be able to defend itself against Grant, the crowned, robed, enthroned, and sceptered tyrant, and to save us from what Mr. Garrett Davis calls, with a smack of Hibernian confusion, 'a permanent revolution!' "—*Tribune*, August 14, 1868.

What H. G. Knew about John D. Defrees as Public Printer.

"Mr. Defrees runs the Pub. Doc. machine. To borrow a Washington tradition, as applied to the head of the Agricultural Department, the expenses of the Pub. Doc. mill 'have exceeded his most sanguine anticipations.' To meet the supply, the Congressmen have invented franking machines, for the teeming Defrees poured out his Pub. Docs. so profusely that the readiest writers in the land could not frank them. So we have Pub. Docs. flying on the wings of the mail to the East and West, like migratory birds or locusts, settling upon every house and dwelling. The Pub. Doc. plague has been a blessing to the trunk-makers and barbers and pastry-cooks."—*Tribune*, January 18, 1866.

What H. G. Knows about A. Delmar, of New York.

"Mr. Delmar's statistical tables are wholly devoted to facts bearing on the foreign trade of the United States and other nations. Not a single fact or figure is given relative to any branch of industry carried on in the United States. Our great agricultural, manufacturing, mining, transportation, river, lake, and canal systems, our labor interests—our home capital in whatsoever branches employed—afford a vast field for investigation, and the statistics in regard to them would be of inestimable value. The current politics of the country cannot be comprehended without them. The history of our country cannot be truly written because of the want of them. Yet Mr. Delmar is blind to everything but what takes place on the ocean. He is a salt-water bird, and if he were appointed Director of a Bureau of Statistics for the five great oceans of the globe he would be in his right place. If the President cannot be induced to appoint a more competent Superintendent for the Bureau it had better be abolished."—*Tribune*.

What H. G. Knows about Ignatius Donnelly, of Minnesota.

"Ignatius Donnelly was a young man and new to the State when the Republicans of his District took him up (in 1864) and elected him to Congress, re-electing him in 1866. Not being a Clay nor a Webster many Republicans thought two terms should satisfy him; but he insisted on another, divided the party, and threw away the seat. Now, a true man, we think, would have said: 'Since there is a considerable part of my Republican constituents who wish me to step aside I will do it, harmonize the district, and save the seat.' Mr. Donnelly chose the opposite course and threw the seat away. We think this proves him a false, selfish, unworthy man, and justifies our conviction that he cares nothing for the Republican party except as it ministers to his own aggrandizement."—*Tribune*, December 21, 1869.

"Mr. Ignatius Donnelly, having been thrice chosen to Congress from the northern district of Minnesota, wanted to go again; but the Republican Convention saw fit to nominate another; so he ran stump and threw away the district. Hereupon Mr. Donnelly, who was a Pennsylvanian born and had hitherto been a zealous protectionist, came out a 'Revenue Reformer,' and commenced assailing the party which had hitherto endured and subsisted him as the enemy of the West, because it had elected such men as himself to Congress, and thereby upheld the policy of Protection.

"After doing what little mischief he could in the way of spouting wherever he could corner an audience, Mr. D. has at length got himself into line with the Sham Democracy. He is to run again for Congress as a stump candidate, inflicting on the Republicans all the abuse and misrepresentation whereof he is capable; and the Democrats are to print his name on their ballots and see if their votes, with those he can pick up by his anti-Tariff dodge, will not put him through.

"This man Donnelly affords a fair illustration of what is meant by 'Revenue Reform.' Its inspiration is hatred of Republican ascendancy and a determination to overthrow it in 1872. So it is understood, and therefore it is favored, by every enemy of General Grant's Administration. Thus *The Chicago Times* applauds *The Chicago Tribune* for commending Democratic (that is, anti-Tariff) principles in quarters which Democratic journals never reach. Thus *The Ohio Statesman* commends *The State Journal* as being soundly Copperhead so far as the Tariff is concerned. Everywhere a Free Trade speech-maker is justly hailed by the Democrats as luring fish into their nets. Happily there are not enough of them to rescue Sham Democracy from the famine which, for lack of Federal loaves as well as fishes, it has endured for the last nine years."—*Tribune*, September 19, 1870.

What H. G. Knows about James R. Doolittle, of Wisconsin.

"Mr. James R. Doolittle joined the Republican party late in the canvass of 1856, after he had become satisfied that it could not fail to carry Wisconsin, and was chosen United States Senator a few months thereafter. He is now well through his second term, and is quite aware that he must look to new affiliations for office thereafter. Mr. Doolittle left the Republicans of Wisconsin last Fall, and has been defying them ever since. He was instructed to vote for the

Civil Rights bill by the vote of every Republican in the present Legislature, but he did not obey. Including Governor Randall's 'bread-and-butter' men, there may be two thousand ex-Republicans in Wisconsin who are going over with Doolittle; but he has no more idea of acting henceforth with the Republicans than of turning Mormon. He has got all he could from our side, and has gone off in quest of 'fresh fields and pastures green.' We expect to have him making speeches in our State for the Democratic ticket."—*Tribune*, August 17, 1866.

"Mr. James R. Doolittle has lost the little dignity he retained after his involuntary apostasy from the Republican party. As long as he held himself aloof from the scenes of his old contests, bearing impartial testimony against the wickedness of both sides, we found him a trifle dull, but perfectly respectable. His isolation gave him a sort of style—like St. Simeon's on his pillar, equal to him in integrity and uselessness. But he has sunk into a mere office-seeker at last, and accepted a grudging nomination with a platform as shuffling and hesitating as himself. He will be easily beaten and comfortably forgotten before he is called upon to digest his Thanksgiving Turkey."—*Tribune*, August 25, 1871.

What H. G. Knew about the late Stephen A. Douglas, of Illinois.

"Mr. Douglas made his appearance yesterday (January 24, 1854) in the Senate riding two horses abreast. He goes now for a split of Nebraska, and for the making of two Territories where there are not half people enough to form one. Just what he proposes to do we do not learn. But we judge he is after keeping up the equilibrium of things by making a slave and a free State out of his two proposed Territories of Nebraska and Kansas. The Little Giant is rolling himself in the dirt too early. He will be so bemired before 1856 that he will lose all chance of being touched by anybody. However, let him wallow. We are content if he is."—*Tribune*, January 24, 1854.

"Douglas has brains. So had Judas. So had that other Arnold who tried to sell out American Liberty before him. But in the case of the Illinois Senator, the brains are coarse and unwashed. They are also in the wrong place. A phrenological system founded on his brain would be only applicable to Yahoos. His is a bull-dog mentality, a combination of the swine-herd and the Caliban. One may say he is capable. So he is. He can do certain things very well. He can frame a foundation and build thereon as good a superstructure of lies as any other man. He can blackguard his betters like a fish-selling harridan; witness his speeches in the Senate. He can run through the whole diapason of political falsehood with unrivalled skill, from the delicate note of suggested pervariation down to the double bass of unmitigated lying. He is an artist in that domain of human effort. If the devil should ever open a crystal palace and give premiums, Douglas would command them all in this branch of manufacture. Yet let us do him justice. He does not lie when the truth would serve him better. To this extent he is virtuous. In this he is a connoisseur who knows where to place his picture. If he cannot give it a good light he will not put it up. In fact, Douglas has a jolly affection for a lie. He evidently thinks the lie an ill-treated member of society. Thus he harbors it, aims to elevate it, makes it a boon companion, and takes it into his service on all occasions. He sets a little lie on its legs, and tenderly and lovingly nurses it, till it grows rotund and swelling. He puts it on its travels, and as it wanders over the country he chuckles and exults at its powers of locomotion. Seeing his skill and loving the little darlings of his brain, he creates more. Thus he becomes father to a brood. So skillful has he become in this line, that in political circles he enjoys almost a monopoly of the business. Other peoples' efforts in it are as so meagre, compared with his, that, by common consent, he is accorded the position of liar-in-chief. He has reached the rank of Lieutenant-General by real service. Long ago he commenced stump-speaking and went over into Kentucky. Humphrey Marshall and others used to meet him. He there acquired a great reputation. Indeed, he was everywhere admired. It was in everybody's mouth: 'How splendidly the little villain lies.'"—*Tribune*, April 11, 1856.

"Mr. Douglas is now, *par excellence*, the representative man of the Democracy of the Free States. A man of the people, without much superfluous refinement of mind or manner, ready to take a chew of tobacco or a drink of whiskey with any fellow in the first bar-room, he carries off in triumph the facile admiration of the rowdy crowd who adorn the lower walks of human society; while the pugilistic quality and prodigious force of his intellect, the reckless quickness of his attack, and the unequalled game and pluck of his defence, render him a formidable figure in every contest in which he may bear a part. It is true that his mental constitution, as exhibited in his political career, is not of a sort to command the admiration of severe critics or to insure him a place among the great statesmen and orators of the country. It lacks at once the charm of the imagination and the fascinations of both wit and sentiment; while it seems equally destitute of the guiding influence of a sacred love of truth and a careful observance of the lines which sunder her domains from those of falsehood. Nor has Mr. Douglas evinced the generosity and magnanimity which are indispensable in a great popular leader; but in gladiatorial displays of talent, and in the unscrupulous rough-and-tumble conflict of

partisan politics he is without a peer; and accordingly he is the hero, and, at this moment, the indisputable chief of the Northern Democracy."—*Tribune*, December 31, 1858.

What H. G. Knows about Peter M. Dox, of Alabama.

"The Hon. Peter M. Dox, a Democratic member of Congress from Alabama, has happily hit upon the only sweetly plausible explanation of the origin of the Ku-Klux Klan which has been made public. It must be observed that Mr. Dox admits the fact of the existence of the Klan, but says the negroes behaved very badly in 1863, when the organization of the K. K. K. was perfected. The colored people, he avers, were in the habit of roaming about the country and firing off muskets in a loose and promiscuous fashion, thereby scaring the timid Southrons, who found it necessary to organize a local patrol such as all slaveholding towns had before the war. Knowing that the negroes were superstitious, the so-called Ku-Klux used masks, only for the purpose of frightening them, just as the Chinese sought to terrify the outside barbarians with horribly grotesque shields and noises. And this harmless stratagem was not resorted to until the negroes had been vainly 'expostulated' with. But Mr. Dox does not say how many negroes lost their lives by expostulation, though he does say the means used were effectual in re-establishing order."—*Tribune*, July 13, 1871.

What H. G. Knew about Edward Everett, of Massachusetts.

"Edward Everett lacked the force of character which qualifies a man to guide and mould the opinions of his fellows. With a genuine love of progress, it is no paradox to say that he combined a dread of innovation; he shrunk before the ghosts of public rumor; his trust in principle was even modified by his mistrust of consequences; with a want of the enthusiasm, the personal magnetism, the free, spontaneous abandonment to the genial impulses of the moment which make ardent friends, he was annoyed with the perpetual fear of making enemies; he carried his kindness of manner, his spirit of conciliation, his deference to prevailing prejudices, his love of complimentary allusions, to the very verge of sincerity; it was a hard thing for him to make up his mind to call a bad thing or a false idea by its right name; and even in the defence of vital public interests, he trembled before the audacious or the subtle assaults of his antagonists; he was too fond of granting concessions for the sake of peace; thus at times incurring the contempt of his opponents, who saw no distinction between his gentleness of statement and cowardice of spirit, between his aversion to giving offence and a willingness to compromise the noblest principles of statesmanship."—*Tribune*, January 16, 1865.

What H. G. Knows about Emerson Etheridge, of Tennessee.

"Mr. Emerson Etheridge, it is announced, has gone to Washington to induce the Government to recognize Gen. William B. Campbell as Governor of Tennessee, on the strength of a few hundred votes polled for him in several counties on the first Thursday of August last, which used to be the day of election in that State. The object of this movement, we believe, is not so much to induct Gen. Campbell, as to extrude Hon. Andrew Johnson, whose decided and outspoken anti-slavery convictions and acts are not approved by Mr. Etheridge. Gen. Campbell, like Gov. Johnson and Mr. Etheridge, was a member of Congress in other days, was always a Whig and a high-toned gentleman, is loyal and true, and would doubtless make a good Governor. It may or may not be well to place him in that office. But if there be any party in Tennessee desiring to see him recognized as Governor at Washington, they surely should know better than to entrust their case to Emerson Etheridge. That person, hunted from his home by the Secessionists, came to Washington a fugitive, and was immediately taken up by the Republicans, and placed in the best office within their gift—that of Clerk of the House. He was not known to be a Republican, but he was a Unionist, and no questions were asked. In requital for this generosity, Mr. Etheridge, last summer, addressed to the Unionists of Memphis about the most bitter and unfair attack on the President, his policy, and their supporters, that has ever yet been concocted. If Tharin, the Alabama fugitive, had more brains, he might equal its injustice and ingratitude, but not its subtle venom."

"If therefore there be loyal men in Tennessee who have business of consequence at Washington, we trust they may be admonished to confide it to some one less intensely and justly obnoxious there than Emerson Etheridge."—*Tribune*, September 30, 1863.

✧ "Impudence, if very cool, is very amusing, and in that respect the letter of Mr. Emerson Etheridge will be found good light reading. These Southern gentlemen are recovering with wonderful quickness from the mortification of their terrible defeat, and are breaking out all over the country into a rage of vituperation. Whether they are made governors or lodged in jail seems to make little difference to them. They turn upon the President with a virulence and wrath which had they displayed in arms might have prolonged the war another year; but the men who scold do not seem to be the men who fought. It is those who were on neither one side nor the other during the war who seem determined now that the fighting is over that

the bad passions it engendered shall not be forgotten, and that there shall be no real peace."
—*Tribune*, July 22, 1865.

What H. G. Knows about Thomas B. Florence, of Washington.

"The Hon. Thomas B. Florence was fourteen years a representative of the Philadelphia Navy-Yard in the House, and a more abject tool of the Slave Power than any other Navy-Yard could turn out. As he has ceased to be even a member of the House, his proposal to pervert its grand Hall, the property of the Republic, to the uses of the Copperhead gathering he invites, is a striking illustration of that cool effrontery which will not consider that Slavery's mastery of our Government has been recklessly staked and lost. The two Democratic National Committees and 'the Conservative men of the Country' are urged to assemble at Washington for the sole, naked purpose of saving Slavery from the doom which it has criminally invoked. The circumlocutory verbiage employed by the Hon. Tom Florence means exactly that, and nothing else. We protest against the proposed gathering, in that it proposes virtually to wrest from the Government of the United States the grave responsibility of fixing the terms of accommodation with the defeated and death-struck Rebellion. We protest against it, because, under the mask of anxiety for Peace, it tends directly and strongly to keep alive the embers of that Rebellion by exciting false, misleading hopes in the minds of its remaining votaries. There never would have been any Slaveholders' Rebellion but for sanguine expectations of Northern aid, hopes which the letters, speeches, and conversations of such men as the Hon. Tom Florence fully authorized.—*Tribune*, August 27, 1863.

What H. G. Knows about J. S. Fowler, of Tennessee.

"Mr. Senator Fowler is following up his vote on impeachment by devoting his time to the Executive Mansion in Washington, meddling in all those nasty Internal Revenue affairs. Perhaps Mr. Fowler would like to be informed that in the election now pending Tennessee is a State which will bear some good work, and that the duty of Republicans is to assist in securing the success of Grant."—*Tribune*, October 27, 1868.

What H. G. Knew about William M. Gwin, of Mississippi.

"Gwin is an offender of a less marked type. Throughout the several stages of this scheme for destroying the Constitution there has been an inner and an outer circle of conspirators. While Davis, Slidell, and Mason belonged to the inner circle, Hunter, Breckinridge, and Gwin, more cautious, and perhaps more cowardly, hovered around the outer edges of the plot. Gwin formerly represented Mississippi in the House of Representatives. Misfortune overtook him. He emigrated to California, taking with him his unscrupulous nature, and his strong prejudices and affinities for the South and Southern institutions. Failing to obscure the golden empire of the Pacific with the black cloud of negro slavery, Gwin fell in with the popular current, and was soon borne into the United States Senate. An admirer, and so far as was prudent for the representative of a Free State, the follower of his old friend, Jeff. Davis, Gwin managed, by his seemingly hearty advocacy of a Pacific Rail Road, to keep himself afloat in his new Western home. But all this time his heart was among the Cotton plantations of his old abode. While in the Senate he was not so much the counselor and confidant of Davis as his confederate and tool."—*Tribune*, November 18, 1861.

What H. G. Knew about A. Oakey Hall, of New York.

"The respectable and Hon. A. Oakey Hall, we notice, has a way of his own of lubricating all difficulties for the popular deglutition. 'Platforms,' he sagaciously observed, 'may do for the furniture and garnish of a campaign, but the oath of office, when a man is elected, is the only real platform.' That is to say, it is perfectly proper for a party holding one set of opinions, which have been solemnly and officially promulgated, to sustain a man holding another set of opinions which are no secret! Egad! the insults fly thickly and heavily about this time. Fernando insults Gen. McClellan, and Oakey Hall insults the Chicago Convention, and between the two the popular good sense gets more dreadfully insulted than either! Why, this really approaches the sublimity of pure and undefiled thimble-rig. Never was the little joker, politically speaking, so lively. Now he is under the war-thimble, and anon he is under the peace-thimble; and when Oakey Hall manipulates, he is under no thimble at all, nor is he anywhere to be found, for Oakey Hall has swallowed him! May good digestion wait on his appetite."—*Tribune*, September 23, 1864.

What H. G. Knew about John B. Haskin.

"Mr. Haskin, of the Westchester District, in this State, in the debate in the House

on Wednesday, at Washington, very boldly condemned the fillbustering of Walker, but more boldly declared in favor of fillbustering on a large scale. Mr. Haskin, according to our telegraphic report, despises the petit larceny of individuals, but glories in the 'grand larceny of nations,' and accordingly he is for stealing Cuba by all the power of the Government. Mr. Haskin's private morals are of no public consequence whatever; but we recommend him to observe some degree of reticence in his public utterances. It is of no service to anybody to boast of villainy: and the man who does it not only discloses his want of virtue, but his want of sense. A knave in disguise is offensive enough, but a confessing knave is worse. We recognize a lurking sense of decency in hypocritical professions of goodness, but toward blatant rascality there can be no sentiments but those of disgust. Mr. Haskin will find himself unable to get on in the course he has chosen. We recommend him to the confessional: Let him come out and admit that he has made a fool of himself, and begin again."—*Tribune*, January 8, 1858.

What H. G. Knew of the late Bishop Hughes, of New York.

"Right Reverend John Hughes, you have been, for some thirty years, a Bishop in this city, and have acquired and wielded an immense influence over the great body of your flock. During all that time there has existed among us a race—the African—despised, abused, insulted, wronged, trampled on, as no race ever was in any Christian city of the Old World. Rev. Sir! *Your people* for years have been, and to-day are, foremost in the degradation and abuse of this persecuted race—in depriving them of civil rights; in reviling them for being what our laws and usages combine to make them; in denying them opportunities for instruction and improvement; in restricting their avenues of employment; in abusing them by mobs and assaulting them in the streets; in clamoring for their exclusion from public conveyances and places of recreation; in upholding in all things the cause of their systematic oppressors, and enabling the apologists of their enslavement to say: "See how they are hated and trodden down in the North! Is it not better that they remain in slavery, where they are protected from the brutality of the many by the self-interest of their masters?"

"Rev. Sir! I know you too well to ask if you approve this treatment of the despised and outcast. I am sure that your sense of Justice condemns and your humanity revolts at it. But I ask you most earnestly, *Have you done your duty in the premises?* Has your great influence been fully, openly, steadily exerted in stern resistance to this most unchristian, inhuman spirit of negro hate, and all its iniquitous manifestations? Or have you imitated too generally the priest and Levite, so signally rebuked and reprobated by our Divine Master, and 'passed by on the other side?' And do you propose to continue in this course to the end? I entreat you to answer these questions to your own conscience—to answer them as one who has enjoyed vast opportunities for good, and is soon to render an account of their improvement at the bar of an all-seeing God!"—*Tribune*, July 9, 1863.

What H. G. Knows about Charles S. Greene, of Massachusetts.

"There are evidently some exceptions admitted at Washington to the announced doctrine of rotation in office. There are some families in which office-holding has become so fixed and established that no statute of limitations and no rule of rotation is held to apply to them. This is the case with the Greene family of Boston. That family have been office-holders ever since the incoming of Gen. Jackson in 1829, and they seem certain to continue so as long as the Shamocracy, of which they are such distinguished and favored members, shall remain in authority. The secret of their hold upon office is, first, a total destitution of all principle or pretense of any, and a perfect readiness to advocate any doctrines or measures, however conflicting or contradictory, that may be in vogue for the moment; and, secondly, their connection with the press. The Greenses were the proprietors of *The Statesman*, since called *The Post*, originally established or bought up for the purpose of advocating General Jackson's election, with a promise, so abundantly fulfilled, of office, in case of success; and to this day this organ of the Shamocracy and Key to Office remains under the control of the family. For a long time the Greenses were content with the lucrative office of Postmaster of Boston, with the addition, indeed, of contracts for blanks, paper and twine furnished to the Post Office Department, and the Government advertising. They now claim and enjoy as their own, besides the Post Office, the place of Navy Agent, to which Mr. Charles G. Greene, we see, has just been reappointed. It is but fair to state, however, that while claiming two offices, the Greene family also control two newspapers—the Postmaster of that family having, since his appointment, bought up one of his own."—*Tribune*, April 10, 1857.

What H. G. Knows about W. S. Groesbeck, of Ohio.

"Mr. W. S. Groesbeck always makes the most of himself. Some of his admirers tried to make a little more than this 'most,' when they essayed the task of manufacturing a Presidential candidate out of him; but still he is a Democrat of considerable talent, more influence, and a prestige more than proportionate to both. He could not appear undignified, even if only blowing his nose. We welcome his utterance, and can wish the Democratic party no better luck than that Groesbeck may multiply and prevail. He is a vast improvement on the average type of Western Democratic statesmen."—*Tribune*, September 14, 1871.

"Mr. Groesbeck's physical weakness, when pleading during the Impeachment trial, doubtless enlisted for the time the sympathy of the Senators, and aided rather than injured the effect of his argument. But, on a critical survey of his positions, most of which are the baldest assumptions, his address only brings out more clearly the irremediable weaknesses of his case. He is pleading for Presidential prerogatives, which would surrender Congress, the laws, the Constitution, and the country, bound hand and foot, to the will of an absolute monarch. No sophistry can obscure, no ingenuity can unmake this fact. If the Senate of the United States could, by any fatuity, sustain these usurpations, then the great Republic is already like a dream that is past. History will say of us that not even genius, popularity, statesmanship, or military prestige were needed to subdue us, but that we bowed our necks to the heel of the first despot who attempted our subjugation, though he was ignorant, despised, wicked, and weak."—*Tribune*, April 27, 1868.

What H. G. Knows about John T. Hoffman, of New York.

"Mayor Hoffman yesterday entertained an indignant protest from over one hundred German citizens interested in trading on Sunday. The protest was, of course, chiefly in the name of beer, and against certain measures 'which oppress a large class of business men, and destroy the means whereby thousands of our fellow-citizens make an honest living.' That is what Rogue Riderhood would call it, and the Mayor cheerfully indorses this view of the subject. In reply to his clients he denounces what he calls the harsh operation of the Excise law, utters a shrewd caution against rioting, and declares that 'What you want is to carry with you always the moral sentiment of the community.' That is just what they want."—*Tribune*, May 10, 1867.

What H. G. Knew about General Andrew Jackson, of Tennessee.

"When we see an attempt made to consecrate and canonize by funeral honors the crimes against Liberty and Law which were committed by or through Gen. Jackson—to represent him as a second Washington; to hold up his career to the Youth of our land as a model for their admiring imitation—we cannot be silent. We are irresistibly reminded of the golden days of our Republic, when the strongest Will was not absolute Law; when honest Opinion was not a crime; when Lynch-law, Official Mail robbery, and the forcible exile of unoffending dependent tribes, was unknown; when our National Faith was unswayed by avowed perfidy to the Cherokees, or covert rapacious treachery to Mexico; when Proscription had not fastened its poisonous fangs on the vitals of the body politic, and responsible offices were not consequently filled with Prices, Hoyts, Tom Lloyds, and Bill Fords; when honesty was deemed essential to Honor, and the terrible vice of universal Office-seeking had not tainted our Elections, and incurably diseased the Republic. And when these things pass in review before our mind's eye, and we compare what was with what is, we are impelled to say, Let them do homage whom feeling or hypocrisy impels to it; we cannot."—*Tribune*, June 19, 1845.

"What arrant falsehood is the assertion that Andrew Jackson 'checked the progress of corruption and brought back the Government to its Republican simplicity!' Andrew Jackson was the first President who removed, multitudinously and indiscriminately, from office for opinion's sake. It was during Andrew Jackson's administration that official peculation and defalcation, by the wholesale, commenced their corrupt and corrupting influences, and increased and spread with such intensity and rapidity, that, under Van Buren, who 'followed in the footsteps of his illustrious predecessor,' known official defalcations and peculations were not regarded as sufficient cause of removal. And yet with all these notorious facts within the personal knowledge or recollection of all adult, intelligent citizens now living, Washingtonians and Congressional banqueters publicly proclaim over their cups that Andrew Jackson 'checked the progress of cor-

ruption!' Such men, and all of their political kith and kin, would do well to remember that John Quincy Adams recognized the right of an office-holder to enjoy and act upon his own political convictions, while Franklin Pierce removed from office those who would not servilely conform, even in state politics, to the imperious and degrading instructions of himself and his Cabinet."—*Tribune*, January 12, 1854.

What H. G. Knows about President Andrew Johnson, of Tennessee.

"Mr. Johnson has some rare qualifications for the vast responsibility so suddenly thrust upon him. In the first place it will not be easy to expose him to prejudice as a 'Yankee.' He is Southern born and bred; he never lived in a Free State till he made one free for himself; and it will be difficult to make the Poor Whites of the South believe him their natural, implacable foe. It will be up-hill work to diffuse a belief that he is keeping up the War on purpose to enrich eastern manufacturers. Having always been a Democrat it will be a job to induce any but Irishmen to oppose him in the interest of 'Democracy.' Since he has always voted against Protective duties, it will be hard to induce a general belief that he is fighting to secure enhanced imports. Having always till now voted and acted as though Blacks had no rights which Whites are bound to respect, it is no light task to convince the public that he is lured from the path of power by 'nigger-worship,' 'nigger-on-the-brain,' or anything out of that shop. In short, he is in a position to stand well with a majority of our people, and we trust he will. But more: he knows the Rebellion, egg and bird, its incitements, its pretexes, its leaders, their objects and their hopes. He knows how far the South has been perverted or tainted by that Rebellion, and wherein it is safe to temper Justice with Mercy."—*Tribune*, April 22, 1865.

"We believe anything possible of Mr. Johnson. His Administration is a record of deception, cunning, disloyalty—antagonism to the best interests of the country. He has made the Administration of Buchanan respectable by showing a degradation to which even Mr. Buchanan could not sink. He has betrayed his party; he has betrayed his friends; he has betrayed his country. Nothing is left of his Administration but a few miserable jobbers like those who hang around him, and a few wretched political adventurers like Black. The men who accepted contumely for his cause, like Seward and Randall and Welles, he is impatient to drive out of his cabinet. The savage of Sahara is not insensible to the obligations of friendship, but even this no longer remains with Mr. Johnson."—*Tribune*, August 28, 1867.

"The time has come to cease trifling with Andrew Johnson. This man who reeled into the Presidency; who has debased his high office by unseemly and indecent demonstrations; who has surrounded himself with the worst members of the worst phase of Washington life; whose retinue consists of lobbyists, rebels, and adventurers; who has polluted the public service by making espionage honorable, and treachery the means of advancement; who has deceived the party that elected him, as well as the party that created him; who has made his own morbid and overweening vanity the only rule of his administration; who has sought to entrap illustrious servants of the people into ignominious evasion of the law, and who now claims to break that law with impunity—this most infamous Chief Magistrate should be swept out of office. *Let him be impeached!* And let the Republican party show that it not only has the power to preserve the country from rebellion under Jefferson Davis, but also from treachery under Andrew Johnson."—*Tribune*, February 24, 1868.

What H. G. Knows about Hon. Reverdy Johnson, of Maryland.

"Mr. Reverdy Johnson, of Maryland, has lately achieved some notoriety by appearing, not for the first time, as counsel on the side of the Rebellion. His previous performances in that line were of considerable service to the Rebel cause while it still had some hope of success. The cause being dead, Mr. Johnson exerts himself with the same zeal in behalf of its still surviving leaders. His chosen arena is the Supreme Court of the United States; his client is nominally Mr. Garland, of Arkansas; but he is really the advocate of the host of unpardoned traitors in whose pathways to fortune, fame, and political success the test-oath is a stumbling-block. Mr. Johnson's rôle is to argue the unconstitutionality of that oath. We suppose Mr. Johnson considers it his professional privilege to argue on any side for which he gets a retainer. Having a lawyer's conscience on that subject he will scarcely be disturbed by being reminded that his legislative judgment was quite different from his professional opinion. We do not know on which he sets the most value—that opinion which he is paid for holding, or that toward which he had no other incentive than a sense of obligation of his Senatorial oath and of his duty to the country. In the present instance the two can hardly be

reconciled. Yet Mr. Johnson allows himself to be quoted on that side where his pecuniary interest lies, and not on that side where his vote in the Senate stands recorded."—*Tribune*, December 29, 1865.

What H. G. Knows about Gen. Joseph Lane, of Oregon.

"As to General Lane, currently known as 'Joe Lane,' he is just the poorest stick ever set up for so exalted a station. He is a son of Gen. Amos Lane, who was one of the inventors of the Jackson party in Indiana, ran for Congress and was beaten sundry times, but finally run in on the top of the Jackson wave in '32, and was again elected in '34, when he subsided. We seem to remember that the son made his way into the Legislature of Indiana some fifteen or twenty years ago, and know that he volunteered in the Mexican War, wherein he was made a Colonel, which title has expanded, under careful nursing, into that of General. He has done his little all to proscribe Douglas and drive him out of the Democratic party, for which he is about to be rewarded by one of the most humiliating defeats ever administered to an unprincipled, small-minded demagogue. He telegraphed the Oregon delegation to bolt at Charleston when the Slave Code platform was voted down, and has been a most abject tool of the Fire-Eaters throughout."—*Tribune*, June 25, 1860.

What H. G. Knows about Hon. George Lunt, of Massachusetts.

"There are those among us who have long held that the steady decrease of the Democratic Party in Massachusetts was owing to the intelligence and patriotism of her sons. But one George Lunt, a shining member of the Constitutional Club, a Boston Democratic organization, has robbed us of our pet idea. In a public speech to the Club he made the astounding declaration that the demoralization of their party was caused by the greater portion of its members having rushed to the war to protect the Union. This gentleman, we understand, once published a volume of rhymes remarkable only for their lack of poetry. If he will woo the muse once more, selecting as his theme the rush of the Democracy for the war to protect the Union, we can promise him a crowning success."—*Tribune*, March 28, 1870.

"Poor Mr. George Lunt, weltering in the sophistry of his five hundred pages on 'The Origin of the War,' dedicates a generous space to the meddling of the Clergy with politics and the capsizing of their pulpits into what Mr. Lunt vigorously calls 'the disturbed vortex of political wrangle'—a flagrant dereliction of the demeanor becoming their sacred profession. 'They preached upon Kansas,' says this author, 'and prayed about it,' and 'the immediate effect of this ecclesiastic interposition in a question of merely political import was disastrous in the extreme'—in the opinion of Mr. George Lunt. To this we may logically respond that the clerical advocates of Slavery were quite as industrious. It was sustained, not as a political but as a religious institution, sanctioned by the Old and permitted by the New Dispensation, founded under the influence of Divine command by the great Hebrew legislator, and directly indorsed by the Apostle Paul. If the pulpit interfered with Slavery, it was the pro-Slavery pulpit North and South that set the example."—*Tribune*, June 12, 1866.

What H. G. Knows about Gen. George B. McClellan.

"While circumstantial evidence shows that Gen. McClellan was on a gunboat during the battle of Malvern Hill, there is positive testimony that he was on a gunboat during the terrible battle of White Oak Swamp or Glendale, the day before, (June 30;) and that when the battle of Malvern Hill was fiercely raging, he was several miles from the scene, selecting, as he himself tells us, 'the final position of the army and its depots,' when, as he expected, it should be defeated."—*Tribune*, September 17, 1864.

What H. G. Knows about Hon. John Morrissey, of New York.

"Mr. Morrissey has flogged Mr. Heenan. Both those champions are now sick and sore, black and blue, debilitated and depleted, stiff, bruised, and wounded. One of them, the stalwart Mr. Morrissey, will carry off the dollars and the glory. The other will carry off his abrasions, depletions, and obscurations. Perhaps we should express our regret that neither of these combatants has been killed, the result being contrary to a most lively hope which we have all along entertained and sometimes expressed. Catering to the desire of the public, and to the duty of reporting the fights as well as the hangings and the murders of the community, we have, in language as little slang whining and vulgar as the nature of the subject would admit, given the particulars of

this contest—the chronicle of blood, bruises, pluck, desperation, and defeat. It is not a pleasant picture, although we may smooth, modify, and glaze it. Many men, and, perhaps, some women, who will talk volubly enough of the affair, would not have cared to look upon it. The records of the Prize Ring are not, upon the whole, pleasant reading. If some enthusiastic and entertaining butcher should write articles describing the agonies of defunct lambs, of departed calves, and of expiring oxen, his work would not be put into the fashionable magazines, and might even be rejected by *The Herald*. When a man comes very near killing another man, the case is not different. We have read over rapidly the report of this fight. We have not found it dulcet. There have been fights more brutal and bloody—there have been fights crowned by the fascinations of murder—there have been fairer fights, and there have been fouler ones. It would be hoping against hope to express the trust that this business may disgust society as it should. Fools will continue to bet money which may or may not belong to them, and bullies will still swagger and strut and abuse the good gift of physical strength. The law seems to be worth nothing. The death of some combatant in the ring may dampen the ardors of sucking Morrisseys and of callow Heenans. Until that blessed example is vouchsafed to the turbulent and pugnacious, we must, we suppose, submit to the impotency of legislation. When society is ready to regard pugilists as it regards thieves, burglars, and assassins—when they are infamous in fact as they are infamous by statute—when they are universally recognized as brutal, animal and ingrained cowardly fellows, we shall need no new laws against them.”—*Tribune*, October 22, 1868.

“The Congressman is a monarch, to be appeased, flattered, bribed, and courted; to be asked to breakfast and dinner, and tea and supper; to be filled with fine meats and with costly wines until he can refuse the suppliant nothing. We do not see why in this beautiful business Mr. John Morrissey, whose motto has always been ‘give and take,’ should not shine and knock down as many souls as he has knocked down many bodies. He is a first-rate caterer. No tavern waiter can humbug him in respect to fodder. He knows a neat wine when he tastes it. We should never think of disputing his judgment on a cigar. We believe, too, that he is not in the least stingy, but will entertain his guests at home or show them the fashions abroad without regard to expense. Then, there is always the dread which must ever haunt the unfaithful representative who eats and drinks one way and votes another, that the iron fist of Mr. John Morrissey, still remembering its former cunning, may wildly range over the representative countenance, close in black and blue night the representative eyes, unlock the fountains of the representative nostrils, and break down the bridge of the representative nose! A very fearful lobby man must John be truly! If we had any desperate, hopeless, selfish project which we desired to have rushed through, we are free to say that, whether for feeding the malcontents, Mr. Morrissey would be the man for our money, and should have it to any reasonable extent.”—*Tribune*, June 1, 1866.

What H. G. Knows about Mr. John Mitchell.

“Mr. John Mitchell is the eminent friend of Celtic liberty and African slavery. He curiously enough determines the right of his fellow-creatures to freedom, or their doom to servitude, only after a scientific examination of their hides, their heels, and their hair. He believes, with a partiality quite natural, that the least washed and most whiskeyfied, the most fecund of bulls and the broadest of brogue, of all his original countrymen, is fitter for emancipation than the cleanest black man in the world, who never had the advantage of being starved on rotten potatoes; who never shot a tax-gatherer from behind a hedge; who never went into rebellion like a roaring lion and came out of it with lamb-like submission in every line of his face, to be despoiled of his goods; to be huddled in a dirty jail; to be tried for his life; to be sentenced to the hurdle and block and the exenterating knife of the executioner; to accept existence as a boon from the despot; to be sent with pickpockets and prostitutes to a penal settlement, and to emerge from this dark discipline without sympathy for the oppressed; without one catholic hope for universal humanity; without one kindly sentiment or generous emotion. If Mr. John Mitchell be honest, he is a curiosity; if not, he is a great many fathoms below contempt. We have warned him more than once, and we warn him now again, that he quite overacts his part; that he besots himself needlessly; that his Southern subscribers, who will care very little for him in any event, may not care to be slavered to slabbily, and that whether he affectionately bestows it upon slaveholders or venomously voids it at the North, he is altogether too prodigal of his drivel. When one gives a ragged and pedicular beggar a shilling or a sup, one can willingly excuse inconvenient demonstrations of gratitude, and does not care to have his boots kissed by foul lips, or his pantaloons embraced by filthy arms. Mr. John Mitchell's newspaper may not have a subscription list long enough to girdle the globe, but he

should, for the sake of appearances, mitigate the fervors of his gratitude when somebody in South Carolina bespeaks *The Southern* (Washington, D. C.) *Citizen*, and pays him sixteen shillings in advance, because the ardor with which he acknowledges the reception of the cash reminds us of the general joy behind Mr. Crumple's curtain when it was announced that another man had come into the pit!"—*Tribune*, June 28, 1859.

What H. G. Knows about Hon. William Mungen, of Ohio

"Mr. Mungen, of Ohio, came to the surface again yesterday with a little explanation. It was to the effect that he didn't approve of the statements in *The Tribune*. We thank Mr. Mungen very heartily. We would be obliged to him if he would make that announcement once a week during the remainder of the session."—*Tribune*, January 14, 1872.

What H. G. Knew about the late Tom Paine.

"As to poor Tom Paine, since I have never heard that he was an Associationist, nor even a Land Reformer, I am unable to account for the bitterness of vituperation with which you assail him. That to him, more than to any other man, this country is indebted for the impulse to its Independence from Great Britain; that its separation from the Mother Country was more ably and cogently advocated and justified by him than by any other writer; that his voice cheered the discomfited defenders of our Liberties, as they tracked with blood the frozen soil of New Jersey on their retreat before the overwhelming numbers of the enemy in the Winter of 1776, and reanimated the People to make the efforts and sacrifices necessary to secure our Freedom, I confess, seem to me to entitle him to some measure of kindly regard at the hands of every American citizen. I trust these are not among the incitements to the vindictive hatred with which you pursue and blacken his memory."—*Tribune*, December 17, 1846.

What H. G. Knows about Hon. Amasa J. Parker, of New York.

"From the time of Aaron Burr downward this State of New York has been sufficiently fruitful in sophistical demagogues and brazen impostors. Nor is the race yet by any means extinct. Amasa J. Parker, the candidate of the Doughface Democracy for the office of Governor of New York, delivered on Tuesday evening, at the Palace Garden, (is the name of the place of assembly to be taken as indicative of the sycophantic character of the meeting collected there?) a speech in the highest degree characteristic of himself and his party. In bold and gross falsehood, it came fully up to the Aaron Burr standard, though falling vastly below it in art of giving to that falsehood a decent varnish of plausibility and consistency."—*Tribune*, October 21, 1858.

What H. G. Knows about Hon. George H. Pendleton, of Ohio.

"Pendleton is a strong man. Personally a gentleman of pleasing address and blameless life, he is politically an intense Copperhead—one of that kind which it takes a microscope of enormous magnifying power to distinguish essentially from a Rebel. He never for one moment pretended to favor the suppression of the Rebellion by force. Though in Congress throughout the war, he made no speech and gave no vote that Davis, or Lee, or Breckinridge could object to. He begins, therefore, with a solid capital of votes of every elector in the Union who deplores the success of the National arms as a suppression and overthrow of the real, essential Union."—*Tribune*, January 11, 1868.

What H. G. Knew about the late General Franklin Pierce, of New Hampshire.

"General Pierce, with such a prospect before him, proceeded to select his cabinet and to distribute the spoils of victory. He went North and South, East and West to pick up his counselors. He seized first upon an extreme Anti-Compromise man from Virginia, but this gentleman declined to go into service. He fished up a Disunionist from Mississippi, raked out a renegade Whig from the hot-bed of the Massachusetts Coalition, took a representative of Cass Democracy from one State, of Van Buren Democracy from another, and of Buchanan Democracy from a third, and finally completed the circle of his advisers after the most approved style of Mosaic work, no two individuals in the Cabinet being more alike than a pea and a pancake, and the body being a unit in nothing except in agreement to take place and help fulfil Mr. Pierce's destiny. The minor offices were then distributed after the same fashion, and every division of the party got its share. The Secessionists and Barnburners, the Union men, Cass men, Buchanan

men, all sorts of men, even including Webster men and bolting Whigs, each and all got something. The plunder was distributed broadcast like bon-bons at a conjurer's exhibition. When all was thus done, and every class in the whole school had got its medals, and political notabilities of all stripes had obtained their plums, the President concluded that his work was done, that the party was thoroughly united, fused, melted and run together, and that there was nothing left for him but smooth sailing to the end of his career. Doubtless he is astonished to find now, ere he has scarcely got through with what he fancied was the work of consolidating his party, that it was never in a more friable, disintegrated, loose and disjointed state than at this moment. Distributing offices to its various parts has failed altogether to have the effect to link the parts together. Like stubborn cattle, they do not draw together any better for being well fed.—*Tribune*, December 5, 1853.

What H. G. Knows about Gen. Albert Pike, of Arkansas.

"The Albert Pike who led the Aboriginal Corps of Tomahawkers and Scalpers at the Battle of Pea Ridge formerly kept school in Fair Haven, Mass., where he was indicted for playing the part of Squeers, and cruelly beating and starving a boy in his family. He escaped by some hocus-pocus of law, and emigrated to the West, where the violence of his nature has been admirably enhanced. As his name indicates, he is a ferocious fish and has fought duels enough to qualify himself to be a leader of savages. We suppose that upon the recent occasion he got himself up in good style, war paint, nose-ring, and all. This new Pontiac is also a poet, and wrote 'Hymns to the Gods' in Blackwood; but he has left Jupiter, Juno, and the rest, and betaken himself to the culture of the Great Spirit, or rather of Two Great Spirits—whiskey being the second. So much for Pike!"—*Tribune*, March 27, 1862.

What H. G. Knew about the late George D. Prentice, of Kentucky.

"Mr Geo. D. Prentice had a son in the Rebel army, and has of late had a paper in the Rebel interest. Neither fact sufficiently recommends the veteran Editor and Wit to the present masters of the newspaper to which he gave character and circulation; and, as we learn from Western dispatches, he has at last been dismissed from *The Louisville Journal*. The veteran may be broken down, and he has certainly been in the harness long enough to be worn out; but he carries out of *The Journal* office all of the loyalty and most of the brains of the concern."—*Tribune*, October 1, 1868.

What H. G. Knows about A. W. Randall, of Wisconsin.

"Some base ruffian has invented a paragraph about Randall (P. M. G.) resigning. This statement is promptly denied by an anxious correspondent. We are assured that the story that Randall has resigned, or ever contemplated resigning, or ever intimated that in any possible contingency he would resign, is false. The assurance is scarcely necessary. We believe in Randall. He will hold to an office as long as any member of the Johnson party, which is saying a great deal. He may die—which Heaven forbid—he may be chosen to a higher place, which the people forbid—but he will never resign. If any of our anxious politicians hope to get into Randall's shoes, let them be patient, and wait. With office-holders like Randall it is only a question of time—but still it is a question of time."—*Tribune*, May, 8, 1867.

What H. G. Knows about Hon. Henry M. Rice, of Minnesota.

"The U. S. Military Reservation at Fort Snelling, Minnesota, which was in use as a fort up to the present season, has been sold, and one Francis Steele, (the word has an ominous sound,) an active Democratic partisan, appears as the purchaser. It is understood that Mr. Henry M. Rice, late Delegate in Congress from Minnesota, negotiated the sale on behalf of the Government, and, of course, there is a violent presumption that he knows how the clause above quoted found its way into the appropriation bill; but we cannot assert this as a fact within our knowledge. All that is positively known is that an immense estate, belonging to the American people, has slipped slyly out of their hands, and something has been slipped into them as an equivalent; but how much, and what relation it bears to the value of this property, we are left to guess. If, however, the Democratic Party of Minnesota should fall short of funds in the struggle just before them for want of a contribution of at least \$100,000 from Rice, Steele & Co., on account of this one operation, then we shall insist that said party has been abominably swindled, and ought to make these gentlemen disgorge the Reservation."—*Tribune*, August 13, 1857.

What H. G. Knows about Hon. Robert B. Roosevelt, of New York.

"Mr. Roosevelt is a charming gentleman and a capital fisherman, but he seems new to politics. After he has made two or three more unlucky efforts in running for Congress in the IVth District, he will discover that the Marshal does not have the appointment of Supervisors. Besides, the duty of Supervisors is simply to watch Mr. Oakley Hall's Inspectors. But, surely, Mr. Roosevelt does not mean to say that *he* has any fear of Oakley's men."—*Tribune*, November 7, 1870.

What H. G. Knows about General Rosecrans.

"Gen. Rosecrans, as a soldier, was sometimes criticised as a first-class strategist, but a poor tactician. As a Democratic Candidate, the excellent general is likely hereafter to be described as a very fair Democrat in theory, but a dreadfully inconvenient one in practice. His letter, declining the nomination of his party in Ohio, is not by any means acceptable as a whole to Republicans, and it must be very much more disagreeable to the Democrats. Of course the General is original and forcible, and somewhat erratic; he always was.

"Altogether, the reading of Gen. Rosecrans's letter impresses us with a renewed sense of the feeling that it is a pity so good a man might not have been a better one. As it is, he comes very near being waste material. He is quite too good for the Democracy, and not near good enough for the Republicans."—*Tribune*, August 28, 1869.

What H. G. Knows about Hon. E. G. Ross, of Kansas.

"We print elsewhere a condensed abstract of the final report of the Impeachment Committee, relative to the corrupt means concerted and employed to obtain the acquittal of the President. It proves that considerable sums were obtained expressly to buy the votes of Senators, but that Senators who had, for months before Secretary Stanton was removed, been howling for impeachment, lobbying in the House for impeachment, and within a few days of the final vote had declared their intention to vote for impeachment on the specific articles then pending, were changed, and induced to vote for acquittal, to the stultification of their known sentiments and pledges, and to the astonishment of their colleagues. Such facts are barely consistent with the innocence of those whose votes are thus changed, as all circumstantial evidence of crime is barely consistent with the innocence of the accused, though it is indicative of guilt, and compels suspicion. The country will enter in favor of the Senators over whom these circumstances rest a verdict neither of guilty or not guilty, but simply the Scotch verdict, 'not proven.' Senator Ross, who previously had no influence over appointments, suddenly acquires the control over Federal patronage, and secures the nomination of his rotten friend Perry Fuller for the office of Commissioner of Internal Revenue, an office eminently requiring a man of first-class abilities and thorough honesty."—*Tribune*, July 4, 1868.

What H. G. Knows about Hon. William B. Reed, of Philadelphia.

"William B. Reed, of Philadelphia, is a lawyer not without ability and experience. Being a lawyer, he will not complain if he is tried on the evidence which he furnishes against himself. He printed on the 5th of November, 1862, 'A Paper containing a Statement and Vindication of Certain Political Opinions, read before the Democrat Association, Chestnut Hill, November, 1862,' meant, says his brief preface, for his neighbors and personal friends. It was very carefully circulated, few copies coming into any hands but those of friends to Mr. Reed and sympathizers with its sentiments. Yet, even among them, the document was considered so openly treasonable and dangerously explicit that Mr. Reed was early advised to suppress it. The effort was diligently made, but nevertheless a single copy found its way into a newspaper office and was publicly printed. There can be but one feeling on reading it—amazement that its author was not instantly arrested, summarily tried by court-martial or other speediest method, and promptly hanged or shot."—*Tribune*, February 17, 1863.

What H. G. Knows about Capt. Rynders, of New York, and Friends.

"The National Committees of the late Douglas and Breckinridge parties undertook to forgothear yesterday at the St. Nicholas, but after subtracting those members of either who are openly helping Jeff. Davis destroy the country, and those who, for good and solid reasons, have renounced all connection with parties who fail to 'keep step to the music of the Union,' the attendance was necessarily slim. Ben. Wood and Fernando, however, were on hand, with Rynders, S. J. Tilden, and Dean Richmond, so that the outsiders made up whatever the members lacked either in numbers or respecta-

bility. Some newly-minted Democrats—James Brooks, Eli P. Norton, &c.—were also on hand, and seemed to enjoy the novelty of their position. The Committees very properly declined to fix, at this time, the place for holding a Democratic Convention—Charleston, their last trying-place, not being eligible at present.”—*Tribune*, September 8, 1863.

What H. G. Knows about A. Schell, Esq., of New York.

“Mr. Collector Schell’s nomination having been sent to the Senate for confirmation, we hope that a full investigation of his merits as a public officer may be had. We have heard of certain acts of Mr. Schell which require some explanation. We are informed that soon after he received his present appointment an arrangement was made whereby parties connected with the Collector should reap a rich harvest from their intimacy with a powerful friend of the new functionary. It seems that one William McIntyre, who has owned *The Daily News*, and to whom a mortgage on that paper for \$20,000 has been executed, made an arrangement with Mr. John C. Mather, (whom Mr. Schell made a State Senator by means of the Custom-House patronage,) and a Mr. Bixby, who was a clerk in the Custom-House, for the purpose of carrying on the business of storage. The firm was known as McIntyre, Bixby & Co. These parties are the personal friends and political supporters of Mr. Schell; although an arrangement had been made between Mr. Moses Odell and the late Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Guthrie, that all goods on general order should be sent to the store which Mr. Odell had taken, yet Mr. Schell managed to remove Odell, and appointed Messrs. McIntyre, Bixby & Co. in his place. The change had no other motive except to promote the interests of the new firm. The public interests had nothing to do with it. Not satisfied with the share of plunder thus given to his friends, they were further provided for by a plan, which was, to say the least of it, illegal. The firm of McIntyre, Mather and Richard Schell may expect to hear from us again. We propose to look a little into the mode in which Senators are nominated and General Committees managed, and how fort sites are sold, from Fort Snelling to New Bedford. We intend to ascertain who sell and who buy these profitable localities, and before we finish we hope to show how the defences of the United States Treasury are shelled by political engineers. We have now opened our first parallel. The illustrious Fernando Wood had a ‘Brother Ben.’; the respectable Augustus Schell has a brother Richard. Mr. Schell sustained Wood with all his energy and genius, and it is possible that Mr. Richard Schell has learned some of ‘Brother Ben’s’ peculiar accomplishments.”—*Tribune*, January 21, 1858.

What H. G. Knows about Hon. Carl Schurz, of Missouri.

“The statement that Collector Edward Jussen, of Chicago, had recently been removed from office, by order of President Grant, because he was a brother-in-law of the Hon. Carl Schurz, is wholly unfounded. Mr. Jussen has not been removed from office, and it was not until the publication of the statement referred to that the President was even made aware of his relationship to the Senator from Missouri.”—*Tribune*, September 27, 1870.

“*The World* heralds a meditated banquet to Senator Schurz and the Editors of *The St. Louis Democrat* and *The Chicago Tribune*, who are now in this City. The Free-Traders are at liberty to eat all the dinners they pay for; and whether they pay \$20 each for them, or less, or more, is nobody’s business but their own. They have just as clear a right to appeal to Congress for an anti-Protective tariff, and to threaten vengeance if their demands are not conceded. Our preference for celebrating victories after, rather than before they are won, is no rule for them. But we submit that both Congress and the country have had quite enough of their bullying, and are not likely to recoil before their shouts, or their threats, and their assumption of authority to speak for ‘The West’—to say that ‘The West’ will have, or won’t stand—is of a piece with their many shams, which dupe none but themselves.”—*Tribune*, November 24, 1870.

What H. G. Knew about Admiral Raphael Semmes.

“Semmes—down in Dixie they call him ‘Admiral’ Semmes—was elected Judge of Probate of Mobile County, Ala., on the 7th inst., by a unanimous vote. The other candidate withdrew ‘in consideration of the gallant services of Semmes during the war.’ Was there no other vacant office in Alabama that this rover of the seas must be made guardian of the widows and orphans, and set to adjudicate questions of property under dead men’s wills? We suppose he will look for precedents to the decisions of that Court which held its sessions in the cabin of the Alabama by the light of burning ships

on the horizon, and award to the judge who delivered its august decree the proceeds of its condemnations. Who would not be willing to die for the sake of having his estate administered on by Judge Semmes?"—*Tribune*, May 18, 1866.

What H. G. Knows about Gov. Horatio Seymour, of New York.

"'SEYMOUR AND RUM' was the war-cry broadly emblazoned on electioneering flags suspended from the sailor dance-houses and harlot-keeping grogeries of the Fourth Ward on the day of election. The unsophisticated denizens of Cherry and upper Water streets had read the Veto carelessly, and overlooked all that part of it which avouches the Governor's anxious concern for the progress of Temperance. They generally take their liquor neat down that way, and did not comprehend the necessity or policy of calling things by other names than their right ones. 'SEYMOUR AND RUM' was what they meant—Seymour for the sake of Rum, and Rum for the sake of Seymour—that was what they were after, and they knew no better way than the direct one. They were after votes for Seymour, and Rum was their best means of getting them; they were after immunity to Rum, and Seymour was the very boy to secure it for them. What phrase could more tersely avouch the spirit that thrilled in their bosoms than 'Seymour and Rum?' And they would seem to have succeeded. By a lavish expenditure of money, and a powerful organization, the Distillers and Liquor-dealers have succeeded in giving Seymour nearly or quite one-third of the entire vote of the State, which, as there are three or four candidates running, three of them nearly together, have probably elected him. Two years ago, Seymour was chosen by a majority of all the votes cast—receiving over Two Hundred and Sixty-four thousand—and now he is barely re-elected, having polled some One Hundred and Fifty Thousand, or less than one vote for each dollar spent in his behalf by the rum-sellers. And this is called a great Democratic victory—one that is celebrated with copious libations and yells of delight in every grogery, gambling-den, and brothel throughout the State. There is not an outlaw for crime's or an outcast for Vice's sake who does not approve the Veto and exult in the triumph of its author. They all recognize him as their protector, and he leans on them as his trusty compatriots and upholders. Hurrah for SEYMOUR AND RUM.'"—*Tribune*, November 10, 1854.

"Gov. Seymour promptly disarms the loyal citizens. When the insurrection of his 'noble-hearted friends' last week was at its height, a detachment of the 7th Regiment was searching one of the most dangerous of the insurrectionary districts for arms. They found them in abundance—muskets, carbines, pikes, and other weapons. Suddenly an order came for them to desist and return to the armory. Of course they obeyed, and returned to their Headquarters, where they found Gov. Seymour. The order was understood to come from him, and to have been given on the ground that it would exasperate the rioters to proceed in the search! Proceed according to law and obey the Governor. Be prepared also to maintain the law and the Government and obey common sense. The secession of South Carolina did not give half the evidence of a universal Southern rebellion that the events of last week do of an attempt to take New York out of the Union.'"—*Tribune*, July 21, 1863.

"Governor Seymour has, from the outset, been a deadly foe to the War for the Union. He insisted from the first that the Republicans had no right to be Republicans—that it was not allowable for the North in 1860 to do in resistance to slavery extension what Thomas Jefferson proposed and voted for in 1784. In the Tweddle Hall Convention in February, 1861, he insisted that the Slave States would all secede, and could not be overborne—that the Union could only be saved by prostration before the Slave Power. In this faith he soon after proposed that New York should join the Southern Confederacy, and he has ever since been sailing virtually on the same tack. The 'reconstruction' he seeks as the fit conclusion of our great struggle is substantially this. Accordingly his every effort since his unfortunate election two years since has been devoted to disparaging, obstructing, enfeebling, and paralyzing the War for the Union by causing the People to regard the Federal Administration, not the Rebel Slave Power, as the enemy to be overthrown, and by reducing to the lowest possible figure the number and the efficiency of our State's contribution to the Union Armies. His last manifesto, like so many of his preceding efforts, is specially directed to this end.'"—*Tribune*, January 2, 1865.

"If the Democratic Convention had been intent on selecting that candidate for President least likely to win Republican votes and most certain to arouse and intensify Republican opposition, it could not have hit the mark more exactly. Horatio Seymour has been the deadliest, most implacable enemy throughout of the ideas which triumphed in the abolition of Slavery and discomfiture of the Rebellion. He was an open advocate and champion of that Nebraska bill whereby Slavery shamelessly repudiated a solemn compact whereof she had reaped the full advantage, and strove to wrest from Free Labor a vast region which she had quit-claimed for a valuable consideration in hand. For the victims in Kansas of Border-Ruffian arson, outrage, and murder, he had never a word of cheer or sympathy. He was for Buchanan against Fremont when this State gave the Pathfinder a plurality of 80,000. He was for anybody against

Lincoln in 1860, when New York gave the latter a clean majority of 50,000. Mr. Lincoln being elected, he insisted that the Republicans should give up their cardinal principle of No Extension of Slave Territory, or be held accountable for the Rebellion that the slaveholders would otherwise initiate. No man ever heard of his uttering a generous word for the ignorant, lowly, down-trodden African; all these he would disfranchise to-morrow if he had power, while he insists that the South shall be given over to the keeping of her haughty Rebels, who hold that they have committed no wrong and forfeited no right in conspiring and fighting to destroy the Union."—*Tribune*, July 10, 1868.

"Governor Seymour being in our city and meeting here Judge Charles H. Ruggles, asked him, 'Judge, have you read the Confederate Constitution? * * * * * I have; and it is preferable to the Federal Constitution. Now, why not avoid all trouble by ourselves adopting the Confederate Constitution? that is, by superseding the Federal by the Confederate Government, kicking out Lincoln, and making Davis our President.'"—*Tribune*, July 25, 1868.

"Seymour's success as an orator reminds us of the story of a clergyman who enjoyed greatly the luxury of listening to the melody of his own voice. He deemed it his duty on one occasion to preach a long, elaborate, and very dull sermon to the artist to whom he was sitting for his likeness. 'What do you think of my remarks?' demanded the eloquent divine of the painter, who was wholly absorbed in his occupation. 'Turn your head a little to the right and keep your mouth shut,' said the artist in his usual professional tone. All that Seymour ever needed to make his speeches what they should have been was to keep his head turned a little toward the right and to keep his mouth shut."—*Tribune*, July 31, 1868.

What H. G. Knew about the late Gov. T. H. Seymour, of Connecticut.

"Col. Seymour, of Connecticut, has opposed and denounced the War for the Union with a frankness and thoroughness which must command a certain measure of respect. He did not wait to find a pretext in 'arbitrary arrests' or emancipation proclamations; he has resorted to none of the dodges and subterfuges of his namesake of this State; but has condemned the effort to maintain by force of arms the authority of the Union over the seceded States as a blunder and a crime, not at all calculated to restore the Union, but rather to render its 'reconstruction' impossible."—*Tribune*, February 16, 1863.

What H. G. Knows about Hon. William Smith, of Virginia.

"If the query would not be deemed impertinent, we should really like to know why such notorious traitors as Extra Billy Smith are allowed to come and go freely at Washington. This man is in close communion with the managing traitors in Virginia, is more heartily with and of them than Letcher, and is behind even Wise in nothing but courage, being a candidate for Jeff. Davis's Congress. While such as he may enter our lines at will, it would be folly for Beauregard to employ any *paid* spies. He can do better."—*Tribune*, May 18, 1861.

"Hon. Wm. Smith, of Warrenton, Fauquier county, Rebel Governor of Virginia, is a very low party hack—a poor successor even to John Letcher, save that he is quite commonly sober. Neither of them is of the old Virginia aristocracy, nor is either an especial devotee of Slavery, save as a powerful aid in keeping their party in power. Naturally, Smith is the poorer creature, though there are many points of similarity between them. When Gen. Jackson was elected President, he appointed William F. Barry Postmaster-General. Barry combined every possible disqualification for the post in greater perfection, probably, than any other man who ever lived. But he had been a Jackson Member of Congress, and franked more electioneering documents than any one else, and had been the Jackson candidate for Governor of Kentucky in August, 1828, but beaten in a close race by Thomas Metcalf, the old stone mason. His use in the Department was to distribute the Post Offices among the most effective Jacksonians and to squander the public money upon the more extensive wire-workers of the party in the shape of extra allowances for services in carrying the mails. Smith was then a heavy mail contractor in the South, and his 'extra allowances' were counted by repeated tens of thousands. It was perfectly notorious that this money was given him to pay the expense not of running the mails, but of running the Democratic party. Smith obtained thence the sobriquet of 'Extra Billy,' which has stuck to him ever since. He used to run as a Democratic or Jackson candidate for delegate from Fauquier, then nicely balanced in politics, and having money to spend, was sometimes elected, though we think oftener defeated. Finally his usefulness to his party was rewarded by a Legislative election as Governor of the State. Nothing more was needed to convince the people that the election of Governors by the Legislature was a blunder, and they abolished it before the expiration of his term."—*Tribune*, June 17, 1863.

What H. G. Knew about the late Edwin M. Stanton.

"There was a time when Mr. Secretary Stanton could have retired without descending from his proud position. We regret the fact; but that time has passed. The Secretary has stooped, and cringed, and paltered, and truckled, till he may now be contemptuously kicked out, with perfect safety to the kicker. And yet there is a low depth of debasement, which even he may wisely avoid; and that will be sounded if he now accepts a second-class mission, bestowed on him in scornful pity for his downfall."—*Tribune*, August 22, 1866.

What H. G. Knows about Hon. E. G. Squier, of New York.

"In another part of to-day's paper will be found a letter from Mr. E. G. Squier, author of 'Notes on Central America.' This letter bitterly complains of, and makes an attempt to refute, the comments which we thought it our duty to make some weeks since, upon certain doctrines set forth in Mr. Squier's book, the propagation and carrying out of which appear to have been a leading object of its publication. When Mr. Squier comes to see his face in the faithful mirror which we hold up to him, he starts back in as much horror and affright as the unhardened are apt to show at the first realization of what they are coming to. He vociferously denies the truth of the likeness; but that is a point which we shall willingly refer to the decision of every judicious and unprejudiced reader who will take the trouble to examine with care the extract from his book which we give at Mr. Squier's request. We have means of knowing the condition of things in Jamaica, independently of Mr. Squier. If he is as reckless—as his letter which we publish to-day seems to show that he sometimes is—in talking about Nicaragua as about Jamaica, then his facts, he must allow us to say, are just as worthless as his dogmas and his reasonings. Central America, in passing through a social crisis, such as all the States of Europe passed through two or three hundred years ago, has suffered from civil wars; but we see no reason to doubt that, if the fillibusters will only let her alone, in due time she will come out of this crisis by the operation of natural causes, as the States of Europe did, and like them start forward on a career of improvement, satisfactory to the rest of the world if not to Mr. Squier and his brother fillibusters."—*Tribune*, March 19, 1856.

What H. G. Knows about Peter B. Sweeney, Esq., of New York.

"Of the Tammany tribe the most famous are, as is well known, Warrior Peter B. Sweeney, celebrated for his cunning and wise counsels; Grand Sachem William M. Tweed, well known for his long purse and generous (some think to a fault) distribution of the public wampum among decrepit and worn-out braves, who have done the tribe service; Sachem R. B. Connolly, a crafty old warrior, popularly known as the great scalper of Oliver Charlick, the Rail Road King, and Michael Connolly, the big judge, popularly known among his familiars and admirers as the Daniel O'Connell of the American Fenians. Those three chiefs are monarchs of nearly all they survey. They own much wampum and lands, and have parceled out among their own relations all the scalps that the tribes have taken."—*Tribune*, September 19, 1869.

What H. G. Knew about the late Chief Justice Taney.

"Judge Taney's career has hardly been submitted to the calm criticism of history, but it is difficult not to believe that our essayist, in his judgment of the jurist's character, has anticipated the verdict of future generations. It is generous not to apply to Roger B. Taney a harsher name than 'The Unjust Judge.' What is considered as a defence in the case of Davis and Lee cannot apply to him. He was above ambition or envy. He had been placed in the first position of the judiciary—a position second only to that of the President. The events leading to this exaltation, however, throw a great deal of light upon his character. He was nominated by Jackson—a man whose idiosyncrasy it was to hate the Supreme Court. His nomination was the reward of a service which the haughty President in vain persuaded better men to perform. Taney had been defeated by a hostile Senate for other positions, and, the moment Marshall died, 'the irritated President,' as our author mildly puts it, sent Taney's name to the Senate. The seat vacated by Marshall was occupied indeed, but not filled; and Taney never, during his whole career, seemed to rise above the position of a partisan. He had the cast of mind which fits a lawyer for the duties of prosecuting attorney. He was the politician in robes. He did all he could to deify Slavery and assist the traitors, who endeavored to overthrow the Union that it might triumph. When the North rose in its majesty, he was as busy in his efforts to stay the enthusiasm as Mrs. Partington with her mop when the ocean came pouring over her doorway. The efforts of one were about as futile as those of the other. History has only to do with motives."—*Tribune*, August 25, 1865.

What H. G. Knows about James S. Thayer, of New York.

"The Democratic party of our State has made for itself a most unenviable record. In mid-winter of 1860-'1, some five weeks before President Lincoln's inauguration, it held a State Convention in Tweddle Hall, Albany. Horatio Seymour, now Governor, was a prominent

speaker therein; would-be Governor Amasa J. Parker was its President, and an unusually large number of its leaders were delegates. The treason there conspicuously enacting of Buchanan, Cobb, Floyd, Jake Thompson, Toucey & Co., whereby the Union was being pusillanimously surrendered without a shot or blow in its behalf, received no whisper of rebuke from that convention. The Rhets and Yanceys and Jeff. Davises who were tearing the country in pieces were not even invited to behave themselves. The whole drift and aim of this Democratic Convention tended to dishearten and demoralize the Loyal North into abasement at the feet of the traitorous, domineering Slave Power.

"You can't subdue the South. You must placate her or the Union is lost." Such was the burden of Mr. Seymour's harangues. The Republicans must cease to be Republicans, or the Union had already ceased to exist; such was the cry of the Convention. And James S. Thayer, amid universal plaudits, proclaimed unmeasured hostility to any coercion of the revolted South under the pretext of enforcing the laws. When the proceedings of this Convention reached Washington, the conspirators who had not yet deserted their seats in Congress showed them exultingly to Republicans, saying, If you attempt coercion, you will find more than your match in New York, without coming South for enemies."—*Tribune*, April 29, 1863.

What H. G. Knows about Hon. Jacob Thompson, of Mississippi.

"Jacob Thompson holds that all his repeated oaths of fidelity to the Federal Constitution and Government were taken subject to the condition that Mississippi should not see fit to secede from the Union; that if at any time she *should* secede, no matter whether with or without reason, he should be not merely at liberty but under obligation to stand with her against the Union and to fight with her to destroy the Union. This, if we comprehend Mr. T., was an implied condition of his oath of allegiance—an understood part of it. Now, we hold this doctrine worse and more irrational than Slavery, its source worse than the Rebellion, their natural child. A country which may at any time be torn in pieces by the mere freak of a fiftieth part of its people we pray never to be doomed to inhabit. Many persons seem exceedingly anxious as to who and how many shall be put to death for their complicity in the Rebellion. We insist that examples shall be made of the two chief culprits, whose names are Slavery and State Sovereignty."—*Tribune*, May 22, 1865.

What H. G. Knows about Ex-Gov. Throckmorton, of Texas.

"Ex-Gov. Throckmorton, of Texas, whose removal from office for disloyalty was one of the last public actions of brave Phil. Sheridan in the Department of the Gulf, has written for publication a private letter, in which, after lamenting that the recent registration orders of Gen. Griffling, instead of 'filling the whole State with a howl of indignation,' scarcely received a comment or a passing notice, he proceeds to raise a howl of his own, and to advise his fellow-citizens in the most violent language against holding a Convention. If Texas is readmitted to the Union, he urges, under the Congress plan of reconstruction, we shall have negroes at the polls, negroes in the jury-box, and, what is worse than all, a Radical Government, with the certainty of a Radical electoral vote for the next President. But if we hold out, Andy Johnson will yet conquer. He will get us in again on our own terms. His proclamation of amnesty will enfranchise every one of us, and enable us to beat the infernal niggers as badly at the polls as we used to beat them in the cotton fields. Now, who is it that keeps the Southern States out of the Union? Is it Congress, which offers them generous and liberal terms of restoration, or the rampant Rebels, like Throckmorton, who counsel them to stay out until they can make their return in triumph, with the Confederate colors flying and the poor freedmen chained to their chariot wheels?"—*Tribune*, October 29, 1867.

What H. G. Knows about Mr. Theodore Tilton.

"If apples are wormy this year, and grapes mildew, and duck's eggs addle, and bladed corn be lodged, it may all be ascribed to the unhallowed influence of Mr. Tilton's *Life of Victoria Woodhull*, of which we give copious extracts in another place. It is certainly the most extraordinary book ever written out of Bedlam. Its richness of invention, its naïve ignorance, and its innocent immorality cause us to wonder whether the veteran romancer, Paul de Kock, who died last week, did not amuse his first leisure hours in the Spirit World by dictating this preposterous book to the editor of *The Golden Age*."—*Tribune*, September 11, 1871.

"In fact, no person who holds with Mr. Tilton has any right to marry at all. He has no right to the honors of marriage while he repudiates its essential obligation. The union that Mr. Tilton believes in is not marriage at all, but something radically

diverse from that. It is the marriage 'a la jacque' of Parisian workmen and grisettes, which is expected to last a year, but often disappoints that expectation. Those who hold it superior to Christian marriage should prove their faith by giving it a distinctive name. Words are things, and Marriage is not what any one may choose to have it, but is defined by the dictionaries. If the Free-Lovers are not ashamed of their creed, let them prove it by giving a distinguishing name to their substitute for marriage."—*Tribune*, October 10, 1871.

What H. G. Knows about Hon. Lyman Trumbull, of Illinois.

"Senator Trumbull never gave his Republican colleagues a hint of his hostility to impeachment up to the moment of his unmasking on Monday of this week, though he had very recently attended meetings of those colleagues of a friendly and confidential character. We are assured that his Democratic son had quietly made bets through third parties, by which he expects to win \$5,000 by his father's resistance to impeachment. *The Republican* protests against these shots from behind. True, it lost its beloved President by such a one; but Wilkes Booth never pretended to be a Republican, as its present assailants have done. If there be more traitors nestling in its bosom, is it too much to ask them to come to the light?"—*Tribune*, May 14, 1868.

"The leading Copperheads of Chicago were fully apprised that Senator Trumbull would vote to acquit long before his Republican brethren representing Illinois in the House were aware of it. 'Was that done like Cassius?'"—*Tribune*, May 18, 1868.

What H. G. Knows about Mr. William M. Tweed, of New York.

"Recorder Hoffman has a good reputation, which we would not tarnish, but when we see that *William M. Tweed* is Chairman of the Committee which is managing his canvass, we don't want him elected Mayor. We hear whispers that he will turn against and rout out Cornell, Tweed & Co., if chosen, and possibly he thinks he may; but, should he be successful, he will find it impossible to fulfil his virtuous resolve. 'The Ring' nominated him; 'The Ring' will elect him, should he be elected, and 'the Ring' will be his master, in spite of himself. The law of political affinity is irresistible."—*Tribune*, November 27, 1865.

"Politicians have not forgotten the touching perplexity of Daniel Webster when, finding himself out of office and deserted by his party, he enquired, 'And where on earth am I to go?' The troubles of the great expounder live again, we are sorry to say, in the bosom of our unfortunate friend. *The World*, which, having for some time been out of office in the capacity of a journal of news, now finds itself distinctly repudiated and gone back upon by its own party as an organ of opinion. Two years ago *The World* ventured to have an opinion on a political subject without the permission of Mr. William M. Tweed, and Mr. Tweed immediately knocked it down. Now it has taken a similiar liberty, and Mr. Tweed not only knocks it down but sits on it afterward. It is a very sad case, and proves that papers with opinions have no business in the Tammany party. We really do not see where *The World* can go. It is too old to learn the profession of journalism, and, besides, the business of procuring news is already monopolized by *The Tribune*. It cannot devote itself to the police courts, for there it would be sure to fall foul of the party. It can print lectures on Positivism, but that is a poor way of making a living. Upon the whole we can think of nothing better for it than to make a fine long valedictory address and then die decently."—*Tribune*, October 1, 1870.

"Tweed's victory at Rochester is more complete than our worst anticipations foreboded. He was virtually recognized as the leader of our City Democrats; his Committee is still its accredited organ; his ticket will be the regular Democracy ticket; and our plundered citizens and their ballot-boxes are delivered over by the Sham Democracy to the uncovenanted mercies of his satellite thieves and ruffians. There was never a more disgraceful back-down than that of the Seymours and Kernans and Tildens, quailing before the audacity of this embodiment of wholesale corruption and vulgar profligacy. We saw, three days ago, that the habitual misleaders of the German Democrats of our City were preparing to knuckle to Tweed; we knew that the Democratic managers of this emporium were rotten to the core; yet we still put faith in the resolution and the power of Seymour and his rural chiefs. At last, we saw that they, too, would give way or be overborne—that Tweed would not be denounced and excommunicated in earnest; and yet we supposed that a sense of decency and of party necessity would impel the Convention to put him in Coventry in appearance, though not in reality. We believed and trusted too far. Tweed went, and saw, and conquered. The Conven-

tion proved a plaything in his hands. Tilden's empty talk about Democratic purity was turned to ridicule by the action which immediately followed. If ever party was disgraced by gigantic speculation, then Tweed and Co. have shamed the Democratic party beyond all precedent. Yet his immense wealth, so foully won, his unmeasured power to make ballot-boxes lie, his lavish disbursements, and his matchless audacity, have enabled him to triumph over public indignation and a formidable array of adversaries, and he returns from Rochester master of the situation."—*Tribune*, October 5, 1871.

"Tweed is very different. He was bankrupt less than twelve years ago—that he soon after obtained a position under our City or County administration—that he vaulted thence into the Board of Supervisors, whereof he soon became official chief and recognized master spirit—that he has ever since lived like a prince and lavished money on every side—and that he is now the owner of some Fifteen or Twenty millions worth of real estate, though his personal and family expenses cannot fall below \$200,000 per annum."—*Tribune*, October 7, 1871.

What H. G. Knew about President John Tyler.

"John Tyler seems to have an inborn constitutional horror of everything that wears the semblance of honesty, and the bare discovery of some course of conduct to which he was once solemnly pledged is all that is needed to set him upon its most open and atrocious violation. Under Martin Van Buren the abuse of official patronage seemed to have reached its lowest depth, and we believe no man on earth could have found a 'lower deep' save the man who is now scouring the very gutters of our city for the willing instruments of his corrupt designs. It is by such desperate and contemptible knavery as this that John Tyler seeks to fasten upon the people the curse of his rule; but he will find ere long that instead of postponing, he only adds fiercer fury to the indignation they will pour upon his head."—*Tribune*, August 23, 1842.

What H. G. Knows about Daniel Webster, of Massachusetts.

"It is not strange, therefore, that sundry Boston gentlemen, should, by dint of hard drinking and eating, persuade themselves that they are especial guardians of the name of Webster, the especial inheritors of the principles of Webster, the especial philosophers to whom alone the length and breadth and thickness and beauty of his character have been adequately revealed. But we do think it rather a hard case that one who spent his life, his strength, his talents, his unusual powers in battling against the Democratic party, and to whom we are indebted for some of the brightest illustrations of its perfidy to Freedom, and of its subserviency to slavery, should now be obliged to depend upon those ancient Democrats, the Hon. Rufus Choate and the Hon. Caleb Cushing, for eulogium. Yes, this beautiful brace of Democratic charmers, who are supporting James Buchanan, whom Mr. Webster denounced and despised—Free Trade, which Mr. Webster denounced—the Extension of Slavery, which Mr. Webster denounced—Executive Corruption, which Mr. Webster denounced—War waged for the acquisition of Foreign Territory, which Mr. Webster denounced—rehearse his virtues and recapitulate his services. There never was such a hugger-mugger attempted before since the world was created. That statesman who leaves a name only is sincerely to be pitied. It is upon deeds, not words, that true reputation must rest. Fame is no plant that grows in mortal soil, and as the soil of Marshfield was emphatically mortal, we do not think Mr. Choate's top-dressing, or Mr. Cushing's sub-dressing will make it particularly heavenly."—*Tribune*, January 3, 1859.

What H. G. Knows about Hon. Gideon Welles, of Connecticut.

"What the House really mean by this proviso is to condemn the arrangement of Secretary Welles, whereby his brother-in-law, George D. Morgan, was enabled to pocket \$70,000 to \$90,000 for a light three months' work—very greatly, Mr. Welles thinks, to the advantage of the Government, but not at all, we all know, to the satisfaction of the People. Everything that Mr. Welles or Mr. Morgan has to say in their own justification has been said, printed, read, and considered; yet the public is not satisfied. The very decidedly prevalent belief is that Mr. Morgan has pocketed as least \$60,000 that ought to have been left in the Treasury, and that, if he does not choose to restore it, Mr. Welles ought to resign."—*Tribune*, February 15, 1862.

What H. G. Knows about Mr David A. Wells, of Connecticut.

"The *St. Louis Democrat* named several eminent champions of its Anti-Protective views, and challenged us to say whether their course was or was not influenced by

money. We—thus constrained to give our opinion—replied that Mr. Wm. C. Bryant had always been a Free Trader, and we doubted not that this was his honest conviction; but we could not say the same of Mr. Wells, *because, while professing to be a Protectionist, the whole drift of his report was clearly intended to prove Protection a folly or a fraud.* Thus he was understood by all—Protectionists and Free Traders alike—and, since it was not credible that he alone should fail to comprehend the scope and purport of his teachings, we must believe that he was earning a subsidy by his crooked course.”—*Tribune, December 10, 1869.*

“Mr. Wells begins by pitching protection over board, and while professing to ignore the issue between Protection and Free Trade, in fact assumes the fundamental positions of the Free Traders as axioms which no one disputes. He has thus made up a most unfair and injurious exhibit of our Financial and Industrial *status* which the Free Traders are pushing into circulation as though Mr. Wells were a disinterested umpire instead of an intense partisan. Mr. Kelley meets him point by point, and shows wherein and how he has dealt unfairly and unjustly with the great interests which he so bitterly assails, and the benignant policy which he aims to crush out.”—*Tribune, January 17, 1870.*

“We heartily rejoice that Mr. D. A. Wells, like his illustrious predecessor, Mr. Alex. Delmar, has gone straight to his own place. Our readers need no further announcement to understand that Mr. Wells is at last among the Democrats, where he has so long belonged; though they may be a little surprised to find that he could fall so fast as to become already an appointee of Gov. John T. Hoffman’s. Long may he remain in such congenial company. Yet, after all, we fear that he cannot be sure of protracted tenure of office under Hoffman. He is a squeezed orange. His power for harm is destroyed when he is forced to fight under his own colors. His reputation is the most absurdly inflated one in the United States; he may now find how little it will profit him when removal from our councils has pricked the bladder.”—*Tribune, June 15, 1870.*

“That ‘one renegade is worse than ten Turks,’ is a very old saw, forcibly illustrated in the instance of Mr. David A. Wells. That gentleman has just issued an essay on Political Economy, written for the meridian of England, and paid for by the Cobden Club, wherein he speaks of a pamphlet intended to prove our National Debt so much national capital, and adds: ‘As this pamphlet, from its quasi-government indorsement, was extensively circulated, and will undoubtedly go down to history as one of the most curious of financial absurdities, it is desirable to state that its author was Samuel Wilkeson, at that time a member of the editorial corps of *The New York Tribune.*’ This assertion is false. Mr. Wilkeson left our employment when he entered that of Messrs. Jay Cooke & Co., in whose service that Pamphlet was written. But suppose it had been true. What of it? Mr. Wilkeson had never any more control of the opinions or course of *The Tribune* than Mr. Wells himself; and the Editor of this Journal dissented from the doctrine of that pamphlet when it appeared, and has ever been foremost in insisting that the Debt should be constantly and vigorously reduced until its payment shall have been completed. Mr. Wells, knowing all this, writes for Englishmen who do not know it, in terms which, if literally true, would yet deceive and mislead his readers. His new masters are welcome to all they can make by such dishonesty.”—*Tribune, February 9, 1872.*

What H. G. Knows about Hon. Charles A. Wickliffe, of Kentucky.

“The Copperheads and stay-at-home Rebels of Kentucky have at length obtained a candidate for Governor. The Hon. Charles A. Wickliffe is the man. He is the son of the late Robert Wickliffe, of Lexington, commonly known as ‘the old Duke,’ who was for years probably the richest man and most extensive slaveholder in the State. The Wickliffes were Whigs, and strong friends of Clay thirty years ago, but finally fell away from him, attracted by the superior devotion of ‘the Democracy’ to the interests of slavery. Charles, ‘the young Duke’ of a quarter of a century back, is now of a ripe age, and the heir of most of his father’s great wealth. He was chosen to the last Congress as a ‘Union’ man, pursued an extreme Pro-Slavery course in Congress, and is in the fullest sympathy with the extreme Copperheads of the West. In his letter consenting to run, he plants himself upon the Ohio Vallandigham platform.”—*Tribune, June 29, 1863.*

What H. G. Knows about Mr. George Wilkes, of New York.

“Mr. George Wilkes edits a good newspaper. It has interesting information about horses and fish. It is an authority on trotting matches and billiards. When the Tipton

Slasher bruises the manly face of the Staleybridge Chicken, Mr. Wilkes is the highest authority we have as to who proved the best man. In these departments he is unrivalled. Sometimes he goes beyond this limited sphere and writes good articles on politics, for he is a strong writer. This is, no doubt, useful, but we fancy his readers find the horse and billiard columns more entertaining, and it is a pity he should go beyond these special features to start a movement which threatens to become a new Whisky Rebellion. We have had articles on Liberty and Despotism, and meetings of the rumsellers, combinations, and pledges and subscriptions. The subscriptions go toward the publication of a gorgeously engraved pledge, over which we have Christ blessing the Wine at Cana. This sublime conception could only come from Mr. Wilkes, who is the head and front of the new movement, as very few of his present followers ever heard of Christ. The whisky dealers of New York, carrying a banner with Christ blessing wine painted upon it, and Mr. Geo. Wilkes riding at the head, would be a sublime spectacle, almost as imposing as the London rioters when Lord George Gordon commanded. We presume the police would keep Broadway clear, and preserve the peace. But when the whisky dealers go beyond this, and threaten to disregard the law in a body, and invite the interference of the police, it is another matter. The law is to be violated, and the authorities are to be defied, and anarchy is to be invoked. We advise Mr. Wilkes to leave rebellion alone, and confine himself to the special topics of his profession. There he is unrivalled. In his new vocation he may get into jail, or otherwise be sorely distressed. The whisky trade would not be a whit improved, and the interests of journalism might suffer."—*Tribune*, June 28, 1867.

What H. G. Knows about Hon. G. W. Woodward, of Pennsylvania.

"Judge Woodward, who is the Vallandigham of Pennsylvania, is by far the craftier politician, has an excellent talent for silence, and will secure a good many votes from thoroughly loyal men." * * * "Woodward differs from Vallandigham as a man in a fog differs from one in bright sunshine. He, too, never uttered one word of cheer for the soldiers of the Union. He never intimated that they were fighting in a just cause. He never expressed a desire that their efforts and sacrifices should be crowned with success. He never tried to shorten their privations or diminish their perils by increasing their number. He did not wait for the proclamation of Freedom to supply him with a pretext for opposing the war. On the contrary, he pronounced against 'Coercion'—that is, against compelling slaveholders to stop stealing the Nation's property and shooting its defenders—at the very outset of the struggle. He, early in 1861, declared that, if the Union was to be divided by Secession, he wished the line of separation run north of Pennsylvania. He has evinced from the outset sympathy with the Rebels in almost everything, with their antagonists in nothing. Even after his nomination for Governor, being on his way to the battle-field of Gettysburg, then red with patriot blood, heroically poured out for the salvation of the Union, he declared to his fellow-passengers that he had no sympathy with the struggle in which these Union martyrs had lost their lives. Such is the man for whom George B. McClellan has been electioneering, and whom Jeff. Davis hopes to hail as the next Governor of Pennsylvania."—*Tribune*, October 12, 1863.

What H. G. Knows about the late C. L. Vallandigham.

"The views of Mr. Vallandigham, respecting the probable resurrection of the Democratic party are certainly entitled to decent consideration. For he is one of the few survivors. He is a spared remnant. The waves which drowned so many of his companions washed him as a curiosity to the shore. He is a sort of penultimate man, left to tell the tale of his party's shipwreck—how it domineered, and how it diminished—now swayed all things under Jackson, and then was palsied under Buchanan—how it was stung to death by slaveholding ingratitude, and, in the opinion of all persons of ordinary nostrils, should long ago have been spaded out of sight and out of smell, and would have been but for the pathetic faith of Mr. V. and of his cronies, who are entitled, for their disbelief in its mortality, to a bushel of copper medals from the Humane Society."—*Tribune*, January 22, 1866.

What H. G. Knows about Hon. Benjamin Wood, of New York.

"Ben. Wood has had a reception at Washington not exactly to his fancy. It is related in our dispatches that the Major of a New York regiment publicly denounced Brother Ben. and Brother Fernando as unmitigated traitors; and added, very unwisely, a threat about bloodshed under certain contingencies."—*Tribune*, July 4, 1861.

"Mr. Benjamin Wood is now a candidate for re-election to Congress, not merely by nomination from the Sham Democracy of his district, but by a contract with Mozart

Hall, to which Tammany Hall is a party. He is thus the candidate of the entire Seymour party of this city. That party pretends to be in favor of a vigorous prosecution of the War for the Union, until the Rebels shall lay down their arms and resume the fulfillment of their repudiated constitutional obligations. But Mr. Wood has never yet pretended to unite in this profession. On the contrary, he will be found to have voted against or dodged every bill that has been submitted to the House intended to strengthen the arm that strikes for the vindication of constitutional authority and national integrity. Throughout the two last eventful sessions of Congress, we can remember no single instance in which he voted for a bill that Jeff. Davis would have wished defeated, or failed to support any proposition that Jeff. would have wished to see succeed."—*Tribune*, October 22, 1862.

What H. G. Knows about Hon. Fernando Wood.

"The 'Hard' and the 'Soft' Mayoralty Conventions did a good night's work for City Reform last evening in uniting on *Fernando Wood* as their candidate for Mayor. We welcome this as about the last nail in the coffin of the Primary-Election swindle. Mr. Wood has been twice a candidate before the electors of our City—first for Congress, when he ran at the foot of his ticket in a time of intense party excitement; next for Mayor, when he was horribly beaten by Ambrose C. Kingsland. The reasons for this defeat are entirely personal to Mr. Wood. We do not choose to go into them, deeming it unnecessary. The judgment of this community is fully made up with regard to Mr. Wood's character, and cannot be reversed. His nomination will bring a good many citizens to the polls who would else have stayed away."—*Tribune*, October 10, 1854.

"On the 7th of November, 1851, the Grand Jury of this City and County found a bill of indictment against Fernando Wood, now candidate for Mayor, for alleged fraudulent transactions growing out of the business of a partnership between him and Edward E. Marvin. These alleged frauds were of a serious nature and very numerous, embracing a forged bill of sale, forged letters and papers, and forged or altered bills of account relating to the partnership. A civil suit, founded on the same transaction, was pending, and is still pending before referees, in which the testimony is very voluminous, and we shall take a look at it as soon as we can conveniently. But the indictment was summarily disposed of by the then Recorder, F. A. Tallmadge. Wood *pleaded the Statute of Limitations*. The Revised Statutes enact that an offence is not indictable after the lapse of three years from its commission. It so happened, in this case, that the alleged offence upon which the indictment was found was committed on the 7th day of November, 1848, and that the indictment was found and filed in Court on the 7th day of November, 1851. The Court decided that the day on which the offence was committed should be included, and thus three years had elapsed. Thus the decision was in favor of quashing the indictment. It is true that the *first* fraudulent transaction alleged was on the 7th of November, 1848, but subsequent frauds are alleged, running throughout several days. The very fact of pleading the Statute of Limitations in a charge of fraud does not strike us favorably. An honest man, having done no act of a criminal nature, would not be likely to make such a plea. But that such a plea was set up in behalf of Mr. Wood, and sustained by the Recorder, is beyond doubt. The case is summarily reported in *The New York Legal Observer*, Vol. X, for 1852, (pp. 61-63,) to which periodical we refer all who feel an interest in the matter. We are assured that a check of \$700 drawn by Mr. Wood in favor of the Recorder, who made the decision, passed through a broker's hands and was cashed in bank about the same time; but that, of course, had no reference to the decision."—*Tribune*, November 4, 1854.

"There are still other fields for honorable achievement, where Mayor Wood's extensive knowledge will no doubt be of great value; for instance, lottery and policy gambling, in which hundreds of men are engaged as dealers and backers, some of them belonging, apparently, to the most respectable class of society, and filling high positions in public estimation, living in splendor from the pennies picked up by 'station numbers,' 'gigs,' and 'saddles.' Then the unlicensed pawnbrokers, the receivers of stolen goods, the prize-fighters, badger-baiters, cock-fighters, and high and low gamblers must also be attended to."—*Tribune*, January 27, 1855.

"The defeat of Fernando Wood at Syracuse is one of the most instructive political lessons of our day. Here is a man of decided talent, untiring industry, and considerable executive ability, who might have been anything he chose if Providence had blessed him with a reasonable share of honesty. Though his earlier life had been stained by serious errors, there was a very general disposition to forget all these and open a clean

set of books with him on his accession to the Mayoralty. And he, too, really seemed for a season disposed to do what was right, and seek advancement through integrity and fidelity to his official obligations. Had he adhered to his good resolves, and set his face like a flint against the manifold vices which deform our city, and by which cunning knaves live at the expense of weak dupes, he would this day have been the most widely popular man in the land. Mr. Wood should be wise enough to realize that the true end of Government is not the protection and patronage of skillful roguery and well-varnished vice, but the defence of the upright, the industrious, the innocent, against the arts and frauds of policy-sellers, baggage-smashers, emigrant-swindlers, and the multifarious varieties of schemers to make gain of others' weaknesses, ignorance, and frailties, for whose support he has of late so successfully, yet in the end so fruitlessly, played."—*Tribune*, August 1, 1856.

"Mr. Fernando Wood has been several times a candidate before his fellow-citizens of this Emporium for important offices, and—we say it to the credit of their discernment and integrity—has never, we believe, failed to run lowest of any man on his ticket. For Mayor, he has twice procured a 'regular Democratic' nomination, which was, in either case, equivalent to an election; but never has a majority of our citizens honored him with their confidence or their suffrages as a candidate for that post. No matter though the gamblers, the short-boys, and the grogsellers instinctively recognized him as their crony and champion, and rolled up for him enormous majorities—far beyond any that could be obtained by legal votes—in every locality notorious for debauchery and crime, he was always placed in the minority by the votes of those who read and think, and who gain a livelihood by means which do not need Police connivance to screen them from the blows of Justice. Even last Fall, with a Police power equal to ten thousand votes, which was exerted to the utmost, and with a Buchanan *furor* in our city which would have secured a majority for Mayor to any other man running on the same ticket, Wood was beaten more than Eight Thousand votes, and only slipped in through divisions among his adversaries, which only a Presidential contest could have rendered effectual. And we take all citizens to witness, that whatever grave differences did and do exist on other subjects, there is no difference at all among the Forty-three Thousand Electors who last Fall voted against Fernando Wood as to the justice and urgent expediency of stripping this bold, bad man of a portion of his grossly-abused power."—*Tribune*, May 6, 1857.

"There are certain venomous snakes which have the faculty, when cut to pieces, of reuniting their dis severed bodies, and prolonging their hideous existence until the heel of some courageous traveler crushes the poisonous head to atoms, and lets out at once the venom and the life. One of these political snakes was thus finished last night. Heretofore cast out, cut in pieces, hedged around with fire, piled mountain-high with loads of public scorn, he has managed to escape from every assault, and again and again raise his hundred heads against whatever Hercules might oppose. Now, it would seem, the work is complete, and he lies prone in the mire, utterly overthrown, without even a wiggle left in the remotest extremity of his political anatomy. Fernando Wood, driven from official power by an outraged and indignant people, has been, since December last, using all his well-known abilities to get the control of the Tammany Society, in which event he would have been the autocrat of the Democratic party, and controller of all nominations, from his own for Governor down to aldermen and constables. For this he has worked night and day, in every conceivable manner, except openly, and with every agent whom he could cajole or threaten into his service. At Washington, at Albany, and at home, his labors have been unremitting. An oath-bound secret society was formed by his friends, and the mystery of midnight conclaves, with grand visibles and grand invisibles, was a means used to frighten the timid and create an idea that his power was invincible. Last night the battle came off, and Mr. Wood suffered a defeat perfectly overwhelming. At the same hour his valuable friend and note-indorser, Charles Devlin, was removed from office, and the whole gang of contractors and camp-followers who, last year, fought Wood's battle or furnished the sinews of war, were driven in disgrace from the public treasury. Unless the ex-Mayor possesses the vitality of a toad imbedded in a rock, he may be considered finished."—*Tribune*, April 20, 1858.

"Fernando Wood has been on both sides of every division in the New York Democracy from the time he became conspicuous as a politician. In the severe struggle of 1848 he hung on the wings of both factions; in the famous feud of 1853 he sided with the Softs, reporting the resolutions in their branch of the State Convention of that year; and he has only professed to be a 'Hard' when his own aggrandizement seemed to demand such a course. In a word, he has been a mere skirmisher, a Swiss, a Du-

gald Dalgetty, fighting under the flag that would pay best; while Dickinson, though sometimes sorely tempted, has had no more thought, through his long life, of lifting his blade even for an hour in aught but the 'regular' service, than had Soult of joining the Guerrillas when commanding the French army in Spain."—*Tribune*, July 4, 1860.

"On the 31st day of January, 1861, Mayor Wood was presented by the Grand Jury of this City as a dangerous man. They said, in allusion to his message: 'The seditious doctrines enunciated throughout the recently published papers of the highest executive officer of this city we look upon as being too well calculated to pander to the worst passions of dangerous combinations of persons in our midst, by no means inconsiderable in point of numbers, and at times exhibiting riotous profligacy.' The man thus rebuked ten months ago by a legal tribunal deserves it as much now as then. If he is again chosen Mayor, it will be solely by that class who are watching and waiting for the opportunity to let loose 'the worst passions of dangerous combinations,' and their 'riotous profligacy' will be encouraged, if a good opportunity occurs, by that bold, bad man, for his own purposes. There are voters enough in this City to give this dangerous portion of our population and its leaders to understand that they are to be held to a strict responsibility to law. If these voters turn out as they should, and can, next week, the gallows-tree will bear less fruit. It is easier to keep down insurrection than to put it down."—*Tribune*, November 30, 1861.

"Fernando Wood, who says he had two grandfathers in the army of Washington at Yorktown—said grandfathers having no grandson now in the army—who wrote a message to the Common Council recommending the Secession of New York City from the State and the Nation—who telegraphed his tears to the scoundrel Toombs, of Georgia, because the Police Commissioners would not send arms thither—who was indicted for felony, and escaped going to Sing-Sing by the Statute of Limitations."—*Tribune*, October 28, 1862.

"They lie—conspicuously, wickedly lie—who tell you that to support Seymour, Wood & Co. is the true way to invigorate the prosecution of the War, and bring it speedily to a triumphant conclusion. If that were the fact, the Rebel sympathizers and semi-secessionists, who abound hereabout, would not themselves support those candidates. If that were the fact, Ben Wood—who has always openly opposed and sought to cripple the War—would not himself support Seymour. If that were the fact, Fernando Wood—who, at the outset of the Rebellion, formally proposed in his Annual Message, as Mayor, the secession of our City from the State, with obvious intent to connect its fortunes with those of the Southern Confederacy—would not be a Seymour orator and Seymour candidate."—*Tribune*, October 30, 1862.

What H. G. Knew about Hon. Silas Wright, of New York.

"Silas Wright has committed acts which ought to have consigned him to ignominy, but they have not done it, and he will poll the whole strength of his party. No man was more active or influential than he in doggedly withholding, to subserve a party purpose, from the People of this State in 1824 the right to choose their own Presidential Electors. His life is full of similar acts, in utter and flagrant violation of all Democratic principles, and yet he is lauded as a champion of Democracy! He has always held all great questions of public policy subordinate to Party ascendancy, and has been just as Protective or anti-Protective as the interests of his party seemed at the time to require. So on other vital questions. His letter to Martin Van Buren in 1826, discussing 'what man we shall present to the caucus, and through that to the People,' to run for Governor against DeWitt Clinton, and his recommendation that Nathan Sanford be chosen, because (as he alleged) Sanford was false, unprincipled, and corrupt, and could be used to great advantage in the caucus and afterward, is decidedly the most infamous document in the annals of Political corruption. We shall publish it directly, as exhibiting the man. So cool and unblushing an avowal of systematic heartlessness in Politics and gambling with a confiding party's votes is a dark phase of Human Nature."—*Tribune*, September 6, 1844.

WHAT HORACE GREELEY KNOWS

ABOUT

Secession and Secessionists—The Progress of Disunion Sentiment at the South—Encouraging the Secessionists, by Professing Sympathy with Them—Inspiring the North with the Belief that the South was not in Earnest—Changing Front after the War had Began, &c., &c., &c., &c.

What H. G. Knew about Secession in 1850.

"The Nashville Convention has not quite effected the dissolution of the Union, but it has achieved something quite as much to the purpose, by dissolving itself. It has gone off with a very tame explosion, and we presume its ghost will no longer disquiet the slumbers of the most nervous old ladies. The whole movement was a farce, and a very clumsy one. The office-seekers of South Carolina are thoroughly disloyal to the Union, and have infected their brethren of Mississippi with their views. There are a few of the same sort in Georgia and Alabama. Besides South Carolina, and possibly Mississippi, there is not a State in the South that would secede from the Union if freely permitted to do so. Kentucky, Tennessee, and Louisiana would vote five to one against such a proposition. Virginia and North Carolina nearly the same. If the door of the Union were held wide open for their egress, South Carolina might coax Mississippi to step out with her, but never another State—and there would be a desperate and doubtful struggle in Mississippi. There would scarcely be an organized attempt to secede in any States but these and Georgia."—*Tribune*, November 20, 1850.

What H. G. Knew about the Sentiment of South Carolina in 1850.

"The Telegraphic report that South Carolina is arming and preparing to give her Uncle Samuel a severe flogging does not greatly alarm us. She is rather wolfish at present, but she will not hurt any body much, and we trust nobody will hurt her. Should she proceed to the extremity of resisting the collection of the Federal Revenue and expelling the U. S. officers from Charleston, we trust her coast will be effectually blockaded by the Navy, so as to enforce the collection of duties on all incoming goods outside of her jurisdiction, and that she will there be left to cool. Let no blood be needlessly shed, but let no unworthy concessions be made. What we apprehend is not that South Carolina will practically secede from the Union, but that undue truckling to her will be resorted to on the pretext of averting that deplored catastrophe. The Tariff Compromise of 1833, and the Ten Millions to Texas in 1850, are precedents that must not be followed in 1851."—*Tribune*, December 17, 1850.

What H. G. Knew about Dissolving the Union in 1851.

"Who then is to dissolve the Union? Is it the people of the *Slave States*? It is they if anybody, for it is not they of the free. And here is the rub. Here begins to loom the lantern visage of the frightful bugaboo, of which we have heard so much. Here peers from the land, sphynx-like, the grim, horrid front of dissolution, so alarming in the distance to the timid nerves of College ex-Presidents, and servile Professors, mercenary presses and politicians, and those clad in the purple and fine linen of trade and commerce. Yes; all the talk and apprehension, and vague alarm about disunion, when sifted and examined, leaves just this residuum, only this and nothing more: that the imminent danger of the dissolution of this Union, and the destruction of this Government, arises wholly and solely from the apprehension entertained of the action of the Slave States. It is an idea conceived in cowardice and brought forth in folly. It is the base product of a craven timidity, an emasculated manliness. It should shame the front and bleach the face of anything wearing the shape of man, who professes to apprehend disunion, to trace out and see where the idea bottoms. It rests on plain, bald, naked fear and cowardice. It is rooted in the stinking bed of paltroonery. No man with a heart beneath his ribs, that ever bent to a bold and manly impulse, or who possesses a spirit not wholly craven, servile, and enslaved, but would slink away in shame from preaching a discourse on the dangers of disunion, if confronted with an exposure of the ground upon which all such apprehensions rest."—*Tribune*, May 20, 1851.

What H. G. Knew about Public Opinion at the South in 1854.

"We look with pity upon the present condition of the South as illustrated by the windy, baseless, blighted harangues of these Southern Conventions. It is much like the gibberings of a mad-house—where one poor creature fancies himself a King, wondering where are his subjects; and another fancies himself a God, wondering where are his worshippers. So these orators will have it that they are kings and gods; all they want is subjects and worshippers in the wealth, and industry, and enterprise which gives the North industrial and commercial supremacy. And so we fear they will gibber at this next Convention. And so at the next and the next. It is most melancholy to think that such folly should prevail. However, the delusion must in time come to an end. Then possibly the Southern patriots may understand the fact that those Northern States which have prospered have done so by honest work, enterprise, economy, and common schools, and not by Commercial Conventions. And then possibly the South may start anew upon the right track. When she does this we shall most cordially wish her success."—*Tribune*, March 4, 1854.

What H. G. Knew about Secession in 1854.

"The *Tribune* has never counseled nor suggested any secession from the Union on the part of the Free States. We of the North are unlikely ever to secede from the Union, and the South is not a whit more likely, unless her politicians fancy that they can badly the Free States by threatening secession, unless they can be allowed to deprive the Union of every characteristic except that of a machine for the propagation and perpetuation of Slavery. Here is the real danger of the Union—that the political leaders of the South, supposing that the North will do anything, submit to anything, to preserve the Union, will so commit themselves in attempting to drag the Federal Government into the execution of their Fillibustering designs that they will be ashamed not to secede upon discovering that the North refuses for once to be dragooned by them. But let us have a fair understanding all around that the North regards the Union of no special, peculiar advantage to her, and can do without it much better than the South can, and we shall have fewer secession capers, and may jog on together quietly and peaceably. We would have the North, whenever the South shall cry out, 'Hold me! hold me! for I'm desperate, and shall hurt somebody!' coolly answer, 'Hold yourself, if you need holding; for we have better business on hand'—and this would be found after a little to exert a decidedly sedative, tranquilizing effect on the too-susceptible nerves of our too-excitabile Southern brethren. Instead of bolting the door in alarm, and calling for help to guard it, in case the South should hereafter threaten to walk out of the Union, we would hold it politely open and suggest to the departing the policy of minding his eye and buttoning his coat well under his chin preparatory to facing the rough weather outside. And this, we insist, is the true mode of reducing his pargysms and causing him to desist from such raw-headed demonstrations in the future. It seems to us idle, childish, preposterous, in this age of the world, to talk of any human arrangement or compact as too sacred for discussion. If it be a good, discussion will heighten the general appreciation of its value; if bad, the truth will be made evident, as it should be. To depreciate discussion is to imply that there is some truth connected with the subject which it would be dangerous to have generally known."—*Tribune*, May 2, 1854.

What H. G. Knew about Secession in 1855.

"There are signs of a faint beginning of a new Disunion panic. The fools are reckoned not to be all dead yet, and so we are sure to have it sooner or later. A Virginian member of Congress, in a speech in the House, on Tuesday, professed to be shocked at the idea advanced there, that the North was really in earnest in meaning to exclude Slavery from the Territories. Horror-struck at this diabolical idea, he forthwith announced that he and his friends would take their hats and go out of the Union if such a thing should be seriously attempted. Here and there a faint cry to the same purport has been heard from the newspapers, and finally an announcement is already made that the South contemplates holding a Convention and nominating a candidate for the Presidency and offering him to the next Democratic Baltimore Convention, on the Slavery Extension platform, with the distinct alternative that if he be not accepted, the Union will be at once endangered and probably dissolved. How much truth there is in the latter statement we cannot pretend to say. No doubt its leading idea is correct. At any rate, it is clear that another deliberate effort is about to be made to terrify the North with the cry of disunion, under which it is expected to prevent the prohibition of Slavery in the Territories, and secure the admission of Kansas as a Slave State. The game is hardly begun, and we shall not, probably, hear much about it till the next sitting of Congress; but then we may look out for the barking of Scylla and the roaring of Charybdis. We allude to it now merely to expose the tactics of the Nebraska speculators and drivers of slaves."—*Tribune*, March 1, 1855.

What H. G. Knew about Southern Sentiment in 1856.

"Our Southern cousins are ever boasting of their own valor and contemptuously describing the cowardice of other folks. Perhaps they are the bravest people in the world, but their brag don't prove it. Indeed it has often turned out that braggarts are the greatest cowards. We

have no doubt that our kinsmen are fond of sanguinary delights, but they prefer to take them in the form of assaults on peaceable, unarmed men, chasing timid, weaponless blacks, and slaughtering their antagonists generally with the least possible danger to their own persons. We do not dispute their love of killing when they can do it in comparative safety. This is an amiable passion which they share with the people of all warm climates; and the solicitude for their own persons while indulging it is equally a growth of fervid latitudes. But they are by no means fond of provoking the bold thumps of equal war. When these are threatened they become suddenly prudent, conservative and cautious. The prospect of dangerous hostilities reduces their swagger at once to its minimum proportions. The idea which drifts occasionally on the wind in our reports from Washington, about Southern men there gravely declaring their apprehension that a civil war will grow out of the Kansas difficulties, we regard as the merest nonsense. The moment that firmness and manly resolution among the Free State men are determinedly opposed to Southern gasconade, we shall see the end of it. A civil war, forsooth, in behalf of Slavery! The absurdity is immense."—*Tribune*, January 31, 1856.

What H. G. Knew about Secession in 1856.

"Monsieur Tonson come again! Amid the loud thunder and fierce lightning of 'secession and the slave-trade direct with Africa' in the Charleston papers, come the somewhat softer tones to eye and ear of a 'Southern Commercial Convention.' 'Ah, here we are again!' as the circus clown says when he rushes into the ring, turns six somersets and makes twelve faces. Here we are again, with the grimace and ground-and-lofty tumbling of a Southern Commercial Convention. List, ye elements! Take heed, ye Continents! Record it, history and posterity! The South will be free of the North! Away with this accursed dependence on Northern capital, Northern enterprise, Northern labor, Northern talent, Northern genius! Let independence be our boast! So say the South, and we cry Amen, if they can do it—but there's the rub. The call to the unconverted regarding this new Convention is of course loud. It is of course long. Several such documents as the Declaration of Independence could be cut out of it and hardly missed, mere length considered. What it wants in substance it has in rebellious expansion. Like a comet's tail, it stretches over a firmament of words. But long as it is it has no merit of novelty. It is the old story. It is the howl of Jeremiah mixed with the wrath of Achilles. But it is stale to fetidity. We have had it all before—over and over again. We had it for the grand Sanbedrim at Memphis, when the heavens and earth were compassed in magniloquent palmetto 'splurges,' and the Right Rev. Bishop Otley discoursed on the Aladdin-like splendor and riches of Amazonia. Next we find the same Convention re-assembling the year following at New Orleans, and here even the wondrous party of the Memphis Saymuches and Drolittles was exceeded. Mr. Albert Pike, the poet, was there in all his glory. He spread himself like a rainbow, and the South glowed and glistened as the prisms of the empyrean. His majestic swoop next took up oburgations, and, borrowing Sydney Smith's old and celebrated summing up of the taxation system of England, our bard Pike told the independent Southrons—the 'Romans,' the men who denounced our mechanics as 'greasy,' filthy, and 'not fit to sit down in company with a Southern gentleman's body-servant'—that the same South, from the crib to the coffin, from the wooden platter to the Family Bible, from the footstool to the pianoforte, from the wants of plaintive infancy to the props of gibbering age, depended on the North! On this theme Albert howled like Ossian—cyaical, saccharine howling—fit to permeate the innermost ganglionic tissue of every recreant Southern who 'does' his industry and genius at second-hand—who draws for his sustentation the skilled thought, the skilled labor, and skilled brain of the North—the despised, vulgar, rabid, debt-paying infidel, ism-choked, ism-covered, ism-crowned North! 'O! O! O!'"—*Tribune*, November 5, 1856.

What H. G. Knew about Secession in 1857.

"We print this morning a letter on 'Disunion' from our well-known correspondent, J. S. P., now at Washington, in which that gentleman alleges his fancied grievances with much more perspicacity than he states his opinions. He complains, first, that he is called by *The Tribune* 'a Disunionist,' and in the second place, that he is declared to have lately become such. With this personal matter we shall make very short work. The writer is in a very low state of mind, and appears to have engrafted upon his political creed a fatality quite Oriental. He has fixed upon a pre-determined order of events, and has quietly seated himself to await the terrible consummation with the stoicism of a Millerite at midnight in a cemetery. True, he talks of leading forlorn hopes, and announces that he 'yet carries the flag of resistance!' but then a soldier who leads a forlorn hope so feebly, and waves the flag of resistance so tremulously, may fairly be considered already enamored of defeat. But it is not merely in his forlorn hopes and flags that the writer is inconsistent. He seems to be very much in the dubious position of the cat in the adage. 'I desire,' he says, 'no such thing as the dissolution of the Union.' 'Let the North and South,' he says, in a moment after, 'part in the manner that becomes the civilization of the nineteenth century.' 'Prepare, then,' he says, in another place, in a deliberate and sober manner, 'for what apparently awaits us.' We believe the main idea of a Federal Union of separate Commonwealths to be politically just. We do not believe that the great statesmen who framed the Constitution were deluded by a sounding fallacy, or by a 'glittering gener-

ality.' We believe, and reason teaches us to believe, that 'in union there is strength.' Now, we are not ready to throw away these advantages, nor to discard their strength. The future holds in it good hope and sorrow. We mean still to be hopeful—still to believe that the affairs of earth are ordered by a divine destiny—still to trust something to the influence of sound opinions, of religion and of philosophy. It is true that events sometimes occur which sorely try our trust, but other lands have emerged, in the light of great and beneficent statesmanship, from a darkness deeper than that which now surrounds us."—*Tribune*, January 30, 1857.

What H. G. Knew about South Carolina in 1857.

"It is usually the case that the most techy and wayward of a family is the weakest and most rickety; and yet it is oftener than not seen that this very ill-favored and badly-organized brat governs the whole household, and makes the parental authority the instrument of its whims and caprices. We have all heard of the fond mother who could be brought to submit to anything that her spoilt darling demanded by force of its threat, in case of refusal, to bump its own head against the floor. It is very much the same in political families. The weakest are very often the sauciest, and are the likeliest to have everything their own way. Now, there is the Lilliputian Empire of South Carolina, for instance. How has she been allowed to shake her puny fists in the faces of her elders and her betters, and to extort from them submissions entirely out of proportion to her physical power or just moral influence. And yet this cross-grained busy, holding on all the time to the skirts of our common Uncle, and venting her insults and injuries in the confidence of his protection, threatens him with utter annihilation if she should once let go of his coat-tail!"—*Tribune*, January 13, 1857.

What H. G. Knew about Secession in 1858.

"There is an old and true proverb which says: 'One man may steal a horse with impunity, while another will be hung for only looking over a hedge.' The latest instance of this is the relative treatment of Northern and Southern Disunionists. There are thinly scattered through the Free States, mainly in New England, a few thousand people who proclaim themselves hostile to the Union because of its pro-slavery aspects and influences. In other words, they refuse to be, in any manner, mixed up with, or responsible for, the enslavement of human beings, and, believing that the Union renders all who freely subscribe to it thus responsible, they say: 'Away with the Union!' Not one of these Disunionists is a Governor, Member of Congress, Judge, or even Justice of the Peace. In fact, we do not know that one of them holds any office whatever. They do not rule any State, county, city, town, or village in the North; no journal in general circulation subscribes to their views, and they are just about as powerful among us as the Shakers or the Mormons. On the other hand, the South has a Disunion party embracing thousands of her foremost citizens—Governors, Senators, Representatives, Judges, Generals, &c., &c. Leading commercial journals in Charleston, New Orleans, and other Southern cities openly advocate Disunion sentiments, and the Disunionists enjoy their full share, in proportion to their number, of office and consideration. It is rarely an impediment to a politician's advancement in the South that he is an avowed Secessionist; in some localities it is a positive recommendation."—*Tribune*, July 23, 1858.

What H. G. Knew about Secessionists in 1859.

"The advocates of Disunion, we mean those who do not cautiously hint, but who do obstreperously halloo and howl their nonsense, which is not respectable enough to be called treasonous, are usually half-witted Members of Congress and quarter-witted Editors. It is very easy for some newspaper man, who, when he bought his types, did not buy Murray's grammar, and who considers Webster's spelling-book to be a vile incendiary publication, to stab the Constitution, dissolve the Union, and annihilate New York and Boston, make an occidental London of Charleston, build up an imperial miracle of a State, which shall cast the ancients into oblivion and drive all other moderns to despair. Wrath, whiskey, and tobacco are wonderfully rapid architects, only their fabrics are baseless, and when they fade away they leave not a wreck, but only a headache behind."—*Tribune*, July 21, 1859.

What H. G. Knew about John Cochrane's Encouraging Secession in 1859.

"Alarm and apprehension have recently, and not unnaturally, been current in the Southern States as to the security and safety of their slave-holding citizens. Apart from the bogus alarm which has been stimulated by designing politicians there has been a genuine, earnest fear that the slaves would rise against their masters, or a Northern invasion of their States be set on foot, or that, at all events, slavery would not be suffered to diffuse itself, whereby the South would be obliged to smash the Union. These apprehensions have impelled a personage no less eminent and high-principled than the Hon. John Cochrane of our State to devote himself to the task of speaking peace to the troubled souls by baring his stalwart arm and raising his clarion voice in their behalf. After exposing to the indignation of an astonished world the atrocities of Gov. Seward's 'irrepressible conflict,' and proving, after a fashion, that the compend (not the published) of Helper's 'Impending Crisis' had instigated John Brown's raid at

Harper's Ferry, that Sherman has no business to be Speaker, and that the Republicans ought to be ashamed of themselves, the Hon. John wound up his harangue in the House on Tuesday as follows:

"Gentlemen at the South may declare themselves ready for secession; we at the North deprecate and reprobate the idea. We declare that whatever may be the feeling of gentlemen from the South, there are those in the North who sympathize with them, and who are able and prepared to protect and support them. There can be no crisis allowed to approach unprepared, now or hereafter impending, to neutralize the strong arm of the Democracy of the Northern States, which will be ever stretched out to shield and to strike in defence of their brother Democrats, wherever they may be."

"The South, thus assured of sympathy, protection, and support from that Northern Democracy, whereof Mr. Cochrane is a distinguished representative and ornament, may possibly wish to know how much reliance may be placed upon his guaranty."—*Tribune*, December 22, 1859.

What H. G. Knew about Secession in 1860..

"We believe the Union is not dissolved, although a Republican Speaker is elected. Beyond a dying wail from a single Southern fire-eater we hear no sound to disturb the general satisfaction that the House is at length organized. The factionists are quiet; the Disunionists asleep. Having blown off their gas for two months they have now subsided. A lull succeeds the storm. The spectacle affords a lesson. Our real disorders are verbal merely. Fifty noisy fellows get together and make a tremendous row over what one or another says, and talk themselves into the assertion, and sometimes into the belief, that the Government is on its last legs, and that, unless somebody or other does something somewhere, very suddenly, to compose this tempest of speech, we may all as well give up the ghost at once, for our doom is sealed, and ruin howls at the gates. Mr. Toombs cries out to his confederates down in Georgia to seize hold of the pillars of the national prosperity and pull them all down about his and everybody's ears. But wouldn't those Georgians have a job of it? Yet Toombs refuses to be pacified, or to stop talking, unless this small personal favor be granted him. But the talk finally stops. The talkers get temporarily restored to reason, and the absorbed and breathless actors and listeners turn their heads and behold that the world still rolls on its axis, the sun and stars alternate in the sky, the business of mankind in general, and of the country in particular, goes on just as usual. Nothing is broken or damaged, and no new kingdom has come. The tremendous bubble has suddenly burst, the rolling mists that darkened the sky have all evaporated, and public affairs again take on their old form and dimensions, like a landscape from which a curtain of fog and mirage has just lifted."—*Tribune*, February 2, 1860.

What H. G. Informed the Cotton States in November, 1860.

"Mr. Sanders informs us that the Fire-eaters will not wait to see whether Mr. Lincoln purposes to do them any wrong or not. And he adds that the Cotton States have already given us due and formal notice that they will secede in case of Mr. Lincoln's election.

"We beg leave to assure Mr. S. that he is entirely mistaken as to the facts. The Cotton States have given no such notice, and they are not going to cut up any such didoes as he presages. A few noisy politicians have exhaled a large amount of unwholesome gas, but the Southern People regard their bravado with silent contempt. Jeff. Davis & Co. tried to make Mississippi get ready for Secession nearly ten years ago; and the result was that Jeff. was beaten for Governor of that State by so poor a tool as Henry S. Foote. Iverson & Co. tried the same game in Georgia, and were utterly routed under the lead of Howell Cobb. So Sam Houston badly thrashed the Fire-eating crew in Texas only last year. And if they put themselves in the way of another such exercise, they will get served worse in 1861 than they have ever yet been. There will be no call for Mr. Lincoln to put down rebellion and nullification in the South-West; the People of the Cotton States will do that whenever the opportunity is offered them. They are not going to have their mails stopped and their coast blockaded to gratify the mad ambition of a few self-seeking counterfeiters of Pro-Slavery fanaticism. We dare the Fire-eaters to submit the question of Secession or no Secession because of Lincoln's election to the popular vote of their own people. They will be badly beaten in every State but South Carolina, and probably beaten in her popular vote also. And let them be assured of this—that they cannot make feints of jumping out of the Union and expect the North to hold them. *Whenever any considerable section of this Union shall really insist on getting out of it, WE SHALL INSIST THAT THEY BE ALLOWED TO GO, and we feel assured that the North generally cherishes a kindred determination. So let there be no more babble as to the ability of the Cotton States to whip the North. If they will fight, they must hunt up some other enemy, FOR WE ARE NOT GOING TO FIGHT THEM. If they insist on staying in the Union, they must of course obey its laws; but if the People (not the swashy politicians) of the Cotton States shall ever deliberately vote themselves out of the Union, we shall be in favor of letting them go in peace. Then who is to fight? and what for?"*—*Tribune*, November 2, 1860.

What H. G. Knew about the folly of Compromise and Concession in 1861.

"Some weeks ago we warned the Republicans of the Free States that a measure was being concocted in Washington that would yield up the vital doctrines for which they struggled in

the recent Presidential contest, and we urged them to let their opinions on that subject be known to their Senators and Representatives without delay. We have reason to know that that appeal was not made in vain. We now say to the tried and true friends of our cause throughout the country, that the advocates of what is called Concession and Compromise are again at work, and with more vigor than before, to induce the Republicans in Congress to support some policy that shall humble the North and make shipwreck of our party and its creed. We renewedly call upon them to promptly make their opinions and wishes upon this question known at Washington. To this end let them speak through their local Journals, and by letters and other means of communication, so that their Senators and Representatives may have a clear knowledge of the tone of public sentiment at home. Let the friends of Free Labor and Free Government move immediately! The crisis impends. There is no time for delay."—*Tribune*, January 8, 1861.

What H. G. Knew about Encouraging Secession in 1861.

"As to Secession, I have said repeatedly, and here repeat, that, IF THE PEOPLE OF THE SLAVE STATES, OR OF THE COTTON STATES ALONE, REALLY WISH TO GET OUT OF THE UNION, I AM IN FAVOR OF LETTING THEM OUT, as soon as that result can be peacefully and constitutionally attained. But their case cannot be so urgent as to require that the President and his subordinates should perjure themselves in deference to its requirements. If they will only be patient, not rush to seizing Federal forts, arsenals, arms, and sub-treasuries, but take first deliberately a fair vote by ballot of their own citizens, none being coerced nor intimidated, and that vote shall indicate a settled resolve to GET OUT OF THE UNION, I WILL DO ALL I CAN TO HELP THEM OUT at an early day."—*Tribune*, January 14, 1861.

What H. G. Was Willing to do for Secession in 1861.

"What I demand is proof that the Southern People really desire separation from the Free States. Whenever assured that such is their settled wish, I SHALL JOYFULLY CO-OPERATE WITH THEM TO SECURE THE END THEY SEEK. Thus far, I have had evidence of nothing but a purpose to bully and coerce the North. Many of the Secession emissaries to the Border Slave States tell the people they address that they do not really mean to dissolve the Union, but only to secure what they term their rights—in the Union. Now, as nearly all the people of the Slave States either are, or have to seem to be, in favor of this, the present menacing front of Secession proves nothing to the purpose. Maryland and Virginia have no idea of breaking up the Union; but they would both dearly like to bully the North into a compromise. Their Secession demonstrations prove just this, and nothing more."—*Tribune*, January 21, 1861.

What H. G. Proposed to do to prevent the Extension of Secession.

"Day by day and hour by hour it grows more and more plain that the establishment of a Southern Slaveholding Confederacy is inevitable. All influences and all agencies brought to bear by the men who are trying to save the Union by concessions and compromises, combine to precipitate this result. The policy of the more moderate compromisers, who go on the maxim of throwing a tub to the whale, or tickling him with the straws of soft and ambiguous speech, only drives the more determined rebels forward upon their predetermined line of conduct with fresh earnestness. They do not wish to be trifled with. Such courses incite them to resolute action far more surely than if they were met by straightforward, honest opposition. The United States Government must treat the Secession movement as being just what it is—a revolution. The first and highest duty of the Government is to guard the safety and interests, present and prospective, of the loyal States. It has no call to run after the stray sheep of the flock till the main body of the broken herd is secured. The first necessity is firmly and immovably to limit the Secession movement where it trenches upon the interests of the Free States. It must be checked at the Potomac. It must be arrested at the Mississippi. It must be watched in the Territories. The Gulf of Mexico must be held under Federal control."—*Tribune*, February 6, 1861.

What H. G. Knew about the Secession Movement in February, 1861.

"An earnest Secessionist, whether of the North or of the South, may be very blind, but he is not necessarily a bad man; and, wrong-headed as we may deem him, we insist on his perfect right to his own opinion, and to pursue a peaceable course of action in open consistency therewith. If a citizen of any State really believes that his secession could do better out of the Union than in it, he has ample warrant for being a Secessionist. True, if he desires peaceable secession, he must confine himself to peaceful instrumentalities, and not rob arsenals, capture armories, besiege forts, and confiscate mints and sub-treasuries, while he shrieks 'no coercion.' He must refrain from shooting, if he has any decided objection to being shot, and restrict himself to speaking daggers if he prefers that the friends of the Union should not use them. But if he will only be patient, and seek his end by legal, peaceful, constitutional means, WE SHALL STRADLIFY AFFIRM HIS RIGHT TO SEEK IT, AND TO USE HIS VOICE, HIS PEN, HIS VOTE, in furtherance of his object. But, for the sham Secessionists, the amateurs in treason, who do not want to dissolve the Union, but only to bully the Republicans by pretending to seek its dissolution, we have an utter loathing. They are the basest of hypocrites, the meanest of tricksters. To make shipwreck of

our fair fabric of constitutional liberty to furtherance of a partisan intrigue—to plunge the country into chaos and civil war merely to evade the popular verdict embodied in the late choice of a President—to scatter fire-brands, arrows, and death with intent merely to paralyze or cripple an incoming Administration; this is to play the traitor on lower grounds and with meaner motives than History has yet branded with just condemnation.”—*Tribune*, February 15, 1861.

What H. G. Proposed to the Secessionists in March, 1861.

“If free goods are to be allowed to enter the Slave States to be sent thence to Free States, why is it not better at once to give up the contest, divide the Territories, the Army and Navy, and make the best terms we can with Jeff. Davis? If the forts are to be surrendered, whether from military necessity or otherwise, and everything that Virginia chooses to call coercion is to be avoided, why not own at once that the only branch of the Government which the leaders of the Republican party can successfully conduct is the distribution of offices?”—*Tribune*, March 16, 1861.

What H. G. Asserted as his Views on Secession in 1861.

“With the simple remark that, while no member of a partnership can of his own mere motion break up the concern, taking so much of its property as he considers his share, I WOULD HAVE CHEERFULLY CO-OPERATED WITH YOU in devising and promoting peaceful means of liberating the Cotton States from a hated bond, had they not chosen rather to break out, and to take with them whatever they could lay their hands on: I remain, yours, HORACE GREELEY.” *Letter to S. M. Hawkins, Grenada, Miss.*—*Tribune*, March 20, 1861.

What H. G. Knew about the Right of Secession.

“We have steadfastly affirmed and upheld Mr. Jefferson’s doctrine, embodied in the Declaration of American Independence, of the Right of Revolution. We have insisted that where this right is asserted, and its exercise is properly attempted, it ought not to be necessary to subject all concerned to the woes and horrors of civil war. In other words, what one party has a right to do, another can have no right to resist. And we have urged that, had the great mass of the Southern People really desired a dissolution of the Union, and been willing to exercise a reasonable patience, their end might have been attained without devastation and carnage; for WE, with thousands more in the North, WOULD HAVE DONE ALL IN OUR POWER TO INCLINE OUR FELLOW CITIZENS TO DEFER TO THEIR REQUEST and LET THEM GO IN PEACE. Hence we have contended that the violent, terrorist, outrageous proceedings of the Southern Jacobins—their seizure of the National forts, armories, arsenals, sub-treasuries, &c., culminating in the bombardment of Fort Sumter—were not inexcusable in themselves, but signally calculated to defeat the end they professed to have in view. Take the case of our own Pacific empire as a further illustration. No doubt, the People of California and Oregon are to-day loyal and fervent in their devotion to the Union. But they are mainly natives of the Atlantic or Gulf States—‘bone of our bone and flesh of our flesh’—and their loyalty is a matter of education, of feeling, and of habit. Fifty years hence, when our Pacific coast shall have a population of ten or twelve millions, mainly born on that slope, it will be very different. Now, should the time arrive in our day when the great body of the People of our Pacific States shall say deliberately, kindly, firmly, to those this side of the Rocky Mountains, ‘You are stronger than we—older, more wealthy, more powerful—but we ask you to let us go; for we believe we can do better by ourselves than with you’—WE shall respond, and urge others to respond, ‘Go in peace, and Heaven’s blessing attend you.’ We believe that is the right, the wise, the Christian answer to such a request, and that the world will yet perceive and recognize the truth.”—*Tribune*, May 14, 1862.

What H. G.’s Sentiments on Secession were.

“Mr. Garret Davis, this tremendous Civil War was deprecated and dreaded by no one more than myself. I am one of the few Northern men who, to avoid it, would have preferred that the Cotton States should leave us in peace. But they chose to rend the Union rather than patiently, quietly dissolve it, to steal its sub-treasuries, arsenals, armories, custom-houses, and batter down its fortresses, and so left us no choice but to fight.”—*Tribune*, April 3, 1862.

What H. G. Knew about Secession after the Northern Uprising.

“It is now evident, and all men will do well to shape their calculations accordingly, that THE UNION CANNOT BE DISSOLVED. There cannot be two rival and competing Governments within the boundaries of the United States. The territorial integrity and the political unity of the nation, are to be preserved at whatever cost. Rebellion is to be put down, not treated with. This is the meaning of the Providential, the miraculous outpouring of the People, which we behold with awe and admiration all over the land. This is the meaning of every throb in the great popular heart, now beating with noblest purposes, and animated as it were by a divine inspiration. Freemen of the country understand this well. They know the obstacles, they appreciate the difficulties in their way. They perceive that the struggle will be an arduous, a costly, a bloody

one. They see their enemy, and underrate neither his resources nor his desperation. But they are determined to fight no half battle with him. They are determined to make clean work of it, now that the issue has been forced upon them. They have counted the cost, but they have estimated, too, the value of the prize. Through the vista of this war, and by means of the national regeneration which it assures, they behold beyond the certainty of peace, of honor, of freedom, secure and immovable forever. These things they are resolved upon, and woe be to those who attempt to check them in their course!"—*Tribune*, April 23, 1861.

What H. G. Knew about promptly Suppressing Secession.

"But nevertheless we mean to conquer them—not merely to defeat, but to conquer, to subjugate them—and we shall do this the most mercifully the more speedily we do it. But when the rebellious traitors are overwhelmed in the field and scattered like leaves before an angry wind, it must not be to return to peaceful and contented homes. They must find poverty at their firesides, and see privation in the anxious eyes of mothers and the rags of children."—*Tribune*, May 1, 1861.

"There is a sickly concern in our city calling itself *The World*, which started on professions of piety and elevation above the low atmosphere of politics, and one of whose editorial corps wrote to South Carolina last Winter that not one of its editors voted for Lincoln, as we understand was the fact. Now, with its columns stuffed with Government advertising, and the fingers of its managers understood to be pretty deep in contract-jobbing, it out-herods everything in its show of devotion to and superserviceable zeal for the Administration which it accuses *THE TRIBUNE* of opposing. Our readers know that we did not approve the hesitation to reinforce Fort Sumter, but *did* very heartily approve the attempt ultimately made to relieve it, and they will find us just there now and all the time. Whenever the War for the Union is pressed forward with all possible vigor, and with a determined hostility to all compromise, we are with the Administration, heart and soul; if it seems to halt, we move straight on. We do not approve a temporizing, stand-still policy, and hope to learn by the forthcoming message—still more, by unmistakable *acts*—that the armies of the Union are henceforth to move forward to victory or defeat, never to be stayed by politics or compromise. To that policy we shall give the most unequivocal support at all times, and without asking who is gratified or offended by our course. And as to our no-party (where there is no party) contemporary, which, having exhausted the patience and drained the pockets of its original backers, will to-day swallow the remains of *The Courier and Enquirer*, and be soon swallowed in turn by the remorseless grave, we will only say to it as the good woman said to her moribund but garrulous husband, 'Don't trouble yourself with talking, my dear, but just go on with your dying.'—*Tribune*, July 1, 1861.

"We hold traitors responsible for the work upon which they have precipitated us, and we warn them that they must abide the full penalty. * * * The rebels of that State (Virginia) and Maryland may not flatter themselves that they can enter upon a war against the Government and afterward return to quiet and peaceful homes. They choose to play the part of traitors, and they must suffer the penalty. The worn-out race of emasculated first families must give place to sturdier people, whose pioneers are now on their way to Washington, at this moment, in regiments. An allotment of land in Virginia would be a fitting reward to the brave fellows who have gone to fight their country's battles."—*Tribune*, April 23, 1861.

What H. G. Finally Knew about the Right of Secession.

"We utterly deny, repudiate, and condemn the pretended Right of Secession. No such right is known to our Federal Constitution, nor, in fact, to any civilized framework of government. No such right was reserved, or supposed to be reserved, when the States ratified or adopted the Federal Constitution. We do not believe that a mere majority of a community may, in disregard of all existing forms, upset an existing government and put one of their choice in its place. We do not believe the whole population—we will say of Nantucket or Staten Island—have a right, moved by a prospect of unlimited gains by smuggling to the main land, to break off from the Union and annex their island to Great Britain or set up for themselves. We do not believe a nation is, like a mob or mass-meeting, to be dispersed by a thunder-shower or a steam fire-engine playing upon it."—*Tribune*, June 3, 1862.

WHAT HORACE GREELEY KNOWS

ABOUT

*War and Peace—Military Counsels and Programmes—Fears of Defeat
and Hopes of Success—Incompetence of Officers—
Triumphs of Gen. Grant—
&c., &c., &c.*

What H. G. Knew about War in 1844.

"Notwithstanding the occasional scenes of violence and blood that disgrace our period, and the petty attempts of political demagogues to involve nations in war without the slightest cause save the hope of subserving their own reckless ambition, the evident and inevitable tendency of Civilization is to the establishment of universal Peace. National differences are more and more removed from the bloody arbitration of arms and submitted to be adjusted by the wiser councils of Diplomacy. War is beginning to be regarded as a monster not fit to exist in a Christian and enlightened era. Slavery, also, and murder by the gallows, and one by one all forms of human wrong and oppression, are destined to be extirpated, not by force, not by unwise and untimely agitation, not by bravado and insult and outrage—for how can wrong expel wrong?—but by the irresistible force of great minds and noble souls, who concentrate their energies upon the glorious work. The silent, constant influences of these efforts are strong enough to remove mountains of evil and suffering, and they will do it."—*Tribune*, July 24, 1844.

What H. G. Knew about War in 1846.

"If some pestilence were now raging on our Southwestern border, mowing down a hundred or two human beings per day, and threatening to overspread the land, what a profusion of prayers and fastings and deprecations of God's wrathful justice would be heard from all our ten thousand churches! If news had but arrived that the inhabitants of the valley of the Rio Grande, no matter on which bank residing, were pining and dying for food, what thrilling appeals would be made to Christian benevolence through all our newspapers! What meetings would be held to raise supplies of corn and cattle for our suffering, dying fellow-men! Yet now, when we hear of hundreds after hundreds recklessly slaughtered there, dying in agony and scorching thirst, their life-blood oozing gradually away into the burning sands, and their bodies tumbled hurriedly into holes like carrion, mobs assemble to shout and dance over the 'glorious' tidings, and every ear is strained for more bulletins of butchery. We hear that the Mexican Army is starving, after being subsisted for days on barley, corn, and salt, in a region where fresh water is often a rarity, and we think not, or care not, that when an *army* begins to starve the *People* must have starved already, and our patriots hurrah: 'That's right! Give it to 'em! Block up the mouth of the Rio Grande! Let them have nothing to eat! Humble them! Chastise them! Cut them down!' Such is War; such the devilish spirit which creates and is cherished by it."—*Tribune*, June 1, 1846.

What H. G. Knew about War in 1858.

"War is justly regarded by the thoughtful, intelligent, and conscientious as at once among the most horrible of calamities and the most heinous of crimes. All the casualties, afflictions, disasters, of forty years of peace, are dwarfed by the devastations, butcheries, and miseries of a single great campaign. If a shell were to burst by accident in one of our streets to-day, and kill or mangle a dozen persons, the whole community would for days be convulsed with sympathetic emotion; but in war a thousand, five thousand, ten thousand shells are often exploded daily, shattering the ankles and scattering the brains and limbs of innocent women and children as though they were the vilest carrion, and nobody has time or thought for sympathy or sorrow. War transforms men into demons, eager to smite, to maim, to slay. In war, even invention, skill, genius—our noblest attributes—undergo a diabolical transformation, and are de-

voted to the contrivance of engines of torture and destruction—chain-shot, shrapnell-shells, rockets, torpedoes, and similar devices for destroying the fruits of industry and defacing the image of God. There never was and never can be a war except through a fearful criminality on one side or on the other—often on both. Nor is it so true as is generally supposed that the ambition of kings and nobles, of generals and marshals, is the usual incitement to national hostilities. Rulers and chieftains have sins enough in this respect to answer for; but quite as many wars have been instigated and waged by civilians as by soldiers—by demagogue aspiration as by crowned ambition. Scarcely one of the wars in which this country has been engaged, or which it has narrowly escaped, was mainly impelled by military disquietude; while popular passion, sedulously excited by demagogues eager for power or fame, has often impelled the President and Cabinet to belligerent attitudes and acts which their own unbiased judgment would have avoided.”—*Tribune*, June 25, 1858.

What H. G. Knew about War in 1859.

“Our regular army, so far as sending infantry against mounted Indians, is a farce. Sending regiments to the Pacific is a costly, bare-faced swindle; but sending infantry and artillery to scour the Plains is no less so. You might as well send a tortoise after a crow. What we need in time of peace is the mere skeleton of an army, composed of capable, honest, experienced officers, under department commanders who can be trusted not to be fooled by false alarms. Let such commanders have each a Colonel and three or four captains who know their business, with authority to call out one hundred to one thousand men whenever they should believe a savage incursion imminent, and let our army, so far as the interior is concerned, be composed of these alone.”—*Tribune*, May 17, 1869.

What H. G. Knew about War in January, 1861.

“To be sure, it is a little to be regretted that the liberators of the South should commence their career by stealing their ammunition, and by what may be called the grand larceny of a revenue cutter. But necessity knows no law; and a man who is bent upon committing a murder will not be much more severely blamed for furtively paying his respects to a hen-roost. In for a penny, as the adage has it, in for a pound. The Southern States could not wait to see if peace, under a Republican President, were possible. They have in one State chosen, and in other States are threatening to choose anarchy, bloodshed, and famine. Unheeding hint or caution, they seem resolutely bent on self-destruction.”—*Tribune*, January 5, 1861.

What H. G. laid down as a plan of operations in 1861.

“‘Through Baltimore to Washington!’ is the motto of the patriot soldiery now rushing to arms in the Free States. In going to the National Capital, in obedience to the call of their country, they have no intention to turn short angles or follow devious courses, either to avoid the Plug-Uglies of Baltimore or to please their allies, the late hypocritical Unionists of Maryland. They propose to go to Washington ‘by the usually traveled route,’ as the law directs. If Baltimore objects, they will insist. If she resists unto blood, they will remove her out of the way, and go over the spot where Baltimore used to stand.”—*Tribune*, April 26, 1861.

What H. G. Knew about the Attack on Massachusetts Troops in Baltimore.

“Great injustice has been done to the Plug-Uglies and Blood-Tubs of Baltimore in supposing that they were the parties that murdered the Massachusetts Volunteers in her streets. It was a well-dressed mob, mainly, set on and paid by merchants and lawyers, that did the bloody business. Marshal Kane, the head of their Metropolitan Police, who had been employed, and successfully, in suppressing the vulgar rioters under the old régime, was notoriously the promoter and leader of this riot. Merchants went home to dinner, after it was over, as we have formerly stated on the authority of an eye-witness, and boasted of the money they had given toward it. Winans, one of the avowed leaders of the Baltimore Secessionists, is perhaps the richest man in the country—certainly the next after Mr. Astor. And we heard lately a well-authenticated story of a young man of the cream of Baltimore society, regarded there as its flower of courtesy and good breeding, who, upon being introduced to a young lady from Boston, after talking to her in the most insulting manner, produced a bullet from his pocket, telling her that it had been extracted from the dead body of one of the Massachusetts volunteers, and that he was keeping it to fire into one of the next batch that came along. With such a spirit prevailing among men of this class in life, with arms

and money, and without mercy or scruple, it is idle to infer that secession is dead because it may hold its breath for awhile, and because the United States flag floats over the Custom-House and Post-Office. There will be, as there have been, ebbings and flowings, flux and reflux in the tide of treason."—*Tribune*, May 9, 1861.

What H. G. Knew in 1859 about the Men who saved the Capital in 1861.

"If we knew the precise object of this Massachusetts muster, we might be able to speak of it with all the enthusiasm which we notice in other quarters. It will, undoubtedly, be a pretty show, but it involves a large expenditure of time and money, and withdraws from their daily avocations many men who can afford ill enough the loss to which it subjects them. It will be asked indignantly, by some offended person in a cocked hat and buttons, 'What! cannot these men afford to give two or three days to their country?' To which the answer: 'Certainly! three, thirty, three hundred days to their country, when their country needs them! Life to their country, if it is called for! Fortune to their country, if it is called for!' But all this has nothing to do with a great training in Concord; nothing to do with patriotically getting cold by sleeping on damp straw in a tent; nothing to do with a drill which rank and file understand as well as the officers, and frequently better; nothing to do with a display which attracts all the rascality of the State to a focus. The militia of Massachusetts give the best part of a week to the work of learning 'how battles are won.' Who will instruct them? The Commander-in-chief? The commanding officers, from the General to the Corporal? Alas! who will instruct the instructors? What idea will any soldier obtain of a real campaign during his three days' campaigning? Any more than if he had staid at home and read Scott's Infantry Tactics three days and nights in succession? Any more than he would get by marching and countermarching through the streets of his village? No. He will waste a week. He will get cold. And he will return as ignorant of the art of war as a Seminole savage—perhaps more so."—*Tribune*, September 10, 1859.

What H. G.'s Programme for carrying on the War was in May, 1861.

"We will not undertake to say what the Government should do in this conjuncture of affairs; but we can say what the North is ready to sustain it in doing. First, the military occupation of Maryland, so far as prudence renders it necessary. Secondly, an advance upon Richmond, and the armed holding of that city. Thirdly, the military occupation of Norfolk, Charleston, Savannah, Mobile, and New Orleans. Fourthly, the proclamation of martial law in all the rebellious States. Fifthly, the offering of large rewards for the arrest of Jefferson Davis and his chief conspirators. Sixthly, their trial and execution under martial law, that being the only way by which justice can reach them. To carry out a bold policy like this, President Lincoln has only to ask for men and money to have both, and to spare. The man who knows wisely how to take at the flood this tide in our affairs, now sweeping on toward its height, will identify his name forever with the glory of the country he will help to achieve; while, if he miss it, and suffer the safety and character of the country to be stranded by its ebb, he will be swept away into the depths of oblivion, if not of infamy. But the country will survive."—*Tribune*, May 2, 1861.

What H. G. Knew about Federal officers who joined the Rebellion.

"Maj. Mordecai knows thoroughly that the Government will harm no person who does not engage in the atrocious conspiracy to overthrow it. The Government is fighting for its life against a rebellion which avows its purpose to dismember and destroy the Republic. The attitude of the Government is purely defensive, and it has forborne to resist armed, rampant, aggressive rebellion until half its fortresses and arsenals have been seized, its treasure stolen, its revenues diverted, its arms captured, and its soldiers bombarded and roasted with red-hot balls in their casemates. All this evokes no word of sympathy from Maj. Mordecai; but, the moment the Government prepares to strike back, he fears his mother will get hurt, and resigns! It is hardly probable that the Government will think it important to apply discipline to this retiring though not modest soldier. But his life must be very private indeed not to subject him to elevation on a social pillory as high as the gallows which Haman erected for his namesake of old, that Mordecai who was respectable and declined not to 'co-operate in hostilities against the enemies of his country.'"—*Tribune*, May 11, 1861.

What H. G. Thought should be done at Alexandria by way of Retribution.

"The funeral of Ellsworth is over. The dead soldier, assassinated in the performance of a high and sacred duty, has been committed to the grave with all ceremonial honors and the deepest heartfelt regret. The spirit of the murdered Zouave will still march at

the head of his advancing column—an Avenger! But this is not all. The practice of war calls for and justifies summary retribution on the city of the assassin. He, indeed, was instantly put to death; but that falls far short of the justice required by such a crime. If assassination is *not* to be inaugurated as a feature of this war of barbarism against civilization, law, and liberty, its first manifestation must be summarily put down. The murderer was promptly dispatched, and an adequate penalty should now fall upon the city where such a crime could be committed. A heavy pecuniary mulct—*two or three hundred thousand dollars*—should be imposed upon it, and failing thereof, the portion of the city where the crime occurred should be leveled with the ground. It is said in some of the journals that a coroner's inquest over the body of the murderer rendered a verdict that he died at the hands of United States soldiers 'while defending his own property in his own house'—a victim of lawless violence, therefore, and not a rebel assassin! If this does not prove complicity with the crime on the part of the citizens, such as would amply justify the sort of retribution here called for, we are at a loss to know what would. Let the barbarians be taught that we are in earnest; that since they have evoked war they shall have war—rigorous, unrelenting, but honorable war, that shuns alike the secret poison and the assassin's arm, and will punish unsparingly the use of either."—*Tribune*, May 28, 1861.

What H. G. Thought should be done to Enforce Martial Law.

"Let us not be afraid of a military despotism. Of all the tyrannies that afflict mankind that of the Judiciary is the most insidious, the most intolerable, the most dangerous. The times are perilous. Treason is abroad. Rebels are in arms against the State. A powerful force, commanded by learned and patriotic men, versed in both civil and martial law, is in the field to subdue them. We advise the three Judges of the Supreme Court who have not turned traitors to the Government, and the one or two whose position is not yet clearly defined, to attend to their appropriate duties in the Courts and leave the task of overthrowing this formidable conspiracy against Liberty and Law to the military and naval forces of the United States.

"We beg also to remind Mr. Chief Justice Taney that the only man who heartily defended him against the many severe attacks made upon him in the Senate Chamber, because of his decision in the Dred Scott case, was Judah P. Benjamin, of Louisiana, now Attorney-General of the so-called Confederate States. He is a traitor, deserving the scaffold for his crime. We trust that gratitude to his Senatorial champion will not lead the venerable jurist to exhibit too much sympathy with his fellow-citizens of Maryland, who are plotting to betray that State into the hands of the Confederate rebels below the Potomac."—*Tribune*, May 30, 1861.

What H. G. did to Urge a Vigorous Advance upon Richmond.

"The indications from the seat of war portend an advance upon Richmond at an early day. Virginia, by her treacherous course, is plucking down retribution upon her venerable head. This haughty Commonwealth is proud of her Capital city. It is to her what Paris is to France, and the Holy City of Benares to the Hindoos. The invasion of the 'sacred soil' of the Ancient Dominion by legions of the Union, who have even dared to thrust plebeian picks and spades into the bosom of 'the mother of Presidents,' has thrilled her with rage and grief. To add to this desecration, by pitching the tents of the 'barbarians' in her streets, and converting her Capitol into barracks, and may be stalling the horses of their cavalry in its halls, as Cromwell stabled his Puritan troopers in the Chapter-House of York Minster, quartering the Fire Zouaves, or the Garibaldi Guards, or even Billy Wilson's merry men, in the dainty mansions of the F. F. V.'s, would whelm her in mortification and shame, surpassing that which the palmer of old felt because Jerusalem was occupied by the Turks and Saracens. Next to Charleston, there is no city in the Rebel States whose occupancy by the Union forces would strike more dread to the hearts of the traitors, and so encourage the loyal citizens of the South, and so elate the masses of the loyal States, as that of Richmond. For years it has been a den of conspirators, plotting the destruction of the Republic. Affecting to act with more calmness and candor, with more deliberation and judgment, with more dignity and discretion, than its impulsive, fiery Palmetto sister, it has really been more guilty and far more despicable than she, because, while committing the same offences against the public weal, it has assumed an air of virtue and innocence, attempting to cloak insidious treason under the guise of patriotic devotion to the doctrines of the fathers of the Republic. In a word, and not to put too fine a point upon it, Richmond has been striving to do the dirtiest and most degrading work of the conspiracy in a dignified and courtly manner. She has been the Robert Macaire of the plot, putting on mock airs and a shabby-genteel costume, and affecting to despise the Jacques Strops of the Gulf States, while in fact being the real leader of the conspir-

ators. Mr. Jefferson Davis has summoned his Congress of Confederate Rebels to meet in Richmond on some day in July. Ere that time, we trust its Capitol will be the headquarters of the Commander-in-Chief of the Federal forces."—*Tribune*, June 1, 1861.

"The great peril of the Republic now imminent is not so much a feeble, aimless, ineffective prosecution of the war for the Union, as a premature and shameful peace, which shall render all the perils and sacrifices already incurred of no avail. We are assured that already secret agents of the traitors are in Washington and this city, trying to ensnare leading Democrats into backstairs arrangements for putting an end to the struggle by some muddle that can be called a compromise. They profess to desire a formal separation and a recognition of the independence of the rebel confederacy; but as they know this will not be entertained, they hint that perhaps a reconstruction which involved a full guarantee of the 'rights of the South' might not prove inadmissible. In some quarters it is vaguely given out that the Crittenden proposition, guaranteeing the existence of Slavery in all present and future territory South of 36 deg. 30 min. would not be rejected without careful consideration. And from another quarter we hear that President Davis would be very happy to accommodate President Lincoln with an armistice of sixty or ninety days to afford time for negotiations. These various feelers all imply the same great truth. The finances of the 'Confederate States' are in a condition of hopeless collapse. The new and desperate expedient of making their Treasury Notes a legal tender, and exchanging them for the notes of all their banks, is simply a contrivance for absorbing the specie of the New Orleans banks, and whatever other movable property may remain in the South, into the gulf of universal bankruptcy. The 'Confederate' armies are cowed, if not disorganized. They dare not stop on the soil of the loyal States. They dare not attack Cairo nor Pickens, nor our lines in front of Alexandria and Arlington. They dare not meet the Unionists in fair and open battle. These rebel soldiers get no pay, and their ranks require constant reinforcement by drafts and conscriptions. Washington having become sour grapes to their leaders, who are at their wits' end for provisions, arms, and munitions, they would like to improve their solemn circumstances in any possible manner—fighting being the recourse that they have the least stomach for. Yet they *may* be driven even to that. From the moment of the assemblage of Congress, the Ben Woods and Vallandigham of the House will busy themselves with concocting and promoting schemes of asserted compromise, with a view to paralyzing the energies of the loyal States and strengthening the hands of the rebels. If they succeed, rebellion will have been consecrated as a successful mode of recovering whatever was lost by a political defeat, and the Spanish American Republics will have become the patterns and precursors of our own future career. Need we add that that career must tend rapidly downward?"—*Tribune*, June 14, 1861.

"Whoever asserts that *The Tribune* does not earnestly desire an early conclusion, at the least possible cost of blood, of this most mad, ruinous civil war, defies the confutation of most notorious facts; whoever insinuates it aggravates cowardice by falsehood. For this journal, almost alone in the Free States, dared avow and defend its preference even of Disunion to a bloody and desolating civil war. Had the Southern conspirators really had the Slave States at their back, and been willing to divide the Union peaceably, and go their own way, we stood ready to advocate acquiescence in their quiet departure, rather than see the land deluged in blood. We presume they, too, would have preferred this, had it been practicable; but it was not. The Northern and Western masses of all parties were for the Union anyhow, and at whatever cost, and a majority of the people of the Slave States concurred with them in opinion and sentiment, though perhaps not in the intensity of their devotion to the One Republic. Hence, Civil War became a dire necessity to the conspirators; they could not get the Border States out of the Union without provoking and commencing a fight. Though they had reduced political lying to a system, and prostituted the Stump, the Press, the Telegraph to gigantic, persistent falsehood, as they were never perverted before, yet the result of the extraordinary elections held in all the Border States last winter proved that these States could not be juggled out of the Union as Georgia, Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi had, with difficulty, been. It was absolutely necessary to their great purpose that the original and inveterate traitors should force a war upon the Federal Government, in order to be able to raise the war-cry of 'The North against the South' and so drown the remaining sense and reason of the Southern people in the mad whirlwind of sectional hostility and passion. Hence, the villainous perfidy whereby the Star of the West was captured at Indianola, and the Federal Soldiers made prisoners in defiance of even Twigg's capitulation; hence the bombardment and capture of Sumter. Having resolved on founding a new Slave Empire on the ruins of the American Union, the conspirators found it necessary to initiate a Civil War to that end. They waited long to have the Government begin it; that hope failing, they began it themselves. Now, that their de-

feat and ruin are palpable and evidently at hand, certain hybrid politicians, who can just dodge an indictment for treason, are in our city on behalf of the despairing traitors, trying to inveigle our Democratic wire-workers into a backstairs intrigue to force the Government to a hasty and shameful Peace."—*Tribune*, June 17, 1861.

What H. G. Knew should be done with Confederate Cruisers.

"The little pilot-boat brought in here on Saturday, and which, in an evil hour, sailed from Charleston under a letter of marque from Jeff. Davis, is No. 1 in more than a single sense. She sailed under the first letter of marque the insurgent chief issued, and she is the first vessel that our cruisers have taken sailing under that piratical flag, under whose pretended authority American citizens, if taken alive, are pronounced worth \$25 a head, or if dead, only \$20. These robbers upon the high seas, as if pursued by an inevitable fate that was to insure their punishment, kept on board the evidence of their having seized one vessel already, and sent her to their fellow-robbers on shore, and, as if this were not enough, gave chase, with a purpose of like seizure, to the vessel that presently showed her teeth and snapped up the little marauder, instead of, as would have been the better way, and perhaps justifiable on the score of self-defence, putting a few shot through the petty pirate and sending her to the bottom. But how she, or rather her crew, are to be dealt with remains to be seen. There would seem to be but one way, unless Executive clemency steps in for relief. The blood of more than one noble young man already cries from the ground, shed in riot, assassination, and in action, and we think the President will pause long before he proposes to interfere with the course of the law in such a case from a mistaken clemency. In ordinary times, if a Charleston pilot-boat had been taken in the act of robbery on the high seas, had gone out from any port, Northern or Southern, with a thirty-two pounder on a swivel amidships, her cabin garnished with cutlasses and pistols, would there have been any thought of mistaken mercy? There is no more pernicious crime known to the law than piracy, for on the high seas the victim is supposed to be peculiarly helpless and beyond the reach of aid. If anything can add to the atrocity of the crime, it is this pretended authority given to it by the chief abettors of an insurrection which has so far marked its course with bloody cruelty and crimes unknown to civilized warfare. Let the law, therefore, take its course, and this arm of the rebellion will be palsied at once when the robbers understand that speedy and inexorable justice will overtake them."—*Tribune*, June 18, 1861.

What H. G. said in 1861 about the War's being a Crusade on Slavery.

"We have insisted that the War for the Union should not be perverted from its avowed, legitimate, essential purpose into a crusade against Slavery. If it should be, the zeal of many would be cooled, while thousands who are to-day for the Union would be driven over to the side of its adversaries. Good faith toward allies and compatriots is a primary dictate of honorable warfare, and whoever strikes for the Union may rest assured that the contest which has been forced upon the loyalty and patriotism of the country by armed treason shall be prosecuted to the end with honesty of purpose and singleness of aim. And while such is the case, it is but naked justice to insist that, as the war is not to be turned from its declared purpose to overthrow Slavery, so the arm of the Nation shall not be shortened in order to shield and screen Slavery. The great duty of maintaining and vindicating the Federal authority against the machinations and the arms of treason must not be feebly, heartlessly performed because Slavery might suffer by a vigorous and fearless fidelity. If Slavery should ever plant herself in the path on which the nation is advancing against its traitorous enemies and say, 'Your life or mine!' the prompt response of the Nation must be, 'Yours, then; not mine!' And meantime the Nation must confront and pursue its foes without asking or considering whether Slavery is or is not likely to commit suicide by arraying itself in deadly strife against the Union."—*Tribune*, June 18, 1861.

What H. G.'s Paper displayed as its motto July 1st, 2d, 3d, and 4th, 1861.

"THE NATION'S WAR-CRY! Forward to Richmond! Forward to Richmond! The Rebel Congress must not be allowed to meet there on the 20th of July! BY THAT DATE THE PLACE MUST BE HELD BY THE NATIONAL ARMY."—*Tribune*, July 1-4, 1861.

What H. G. afterwards knew about the Tribune's War-Cry.

"I wish to be distinctly understood as not seeking to be relieved from any responsibility for urging the advance of the Union Grand Army into Virginia, though the watchword 'Forward to Richmond' was not mine, and I would have preferred not to iterate it. I thought that Army, One Hundred thousand strong, might have been in the Rebel

capital on or before the 20th instant, while I felt sure that there were urgent reasons why it *should* be there, if possible. And now, if any one imagines that I, or any one connected with *The Tribune*, ever commended or imagined any such strategy as the launching barely Thirty of the One Hundred Thousand Union Volunteers within fifty miles of Washington against Ninety Thousand Rebels, enveloped in a labyrinth of strong intrenchments and unreconnoitered masked batteries, then demonstration would be lost on his ear. But I will not dwell on this. If I am needed as a scape-goat for all the Military blunders of the last month, so be it! Individuals must die that the Nation may live. If I can serve her best in that capacity, I do not shrink from the ordeal."—*Tribune*, February 2, 1863.

What H. G. Knew about the Disaster at Bull Run.

"I did urge that the great Union Army, rotting in idleness and debauchery about Washington, should advance upon the Rebellion it was called out to put down. It ought to have done so a month earlier than it did—not a part of it, but the whole, and it *might* have been triumphantly in Richmond and the Rebellion half suppressed before the day of Bull Run. How needless, how wanton, was that disaster—how disgraceful to those who might and should have prevented it, History will establish."—*Tribune*, February 2, 1863.

What H. G. Announced as his Programme for Action.

"Do you pretend to know more about military matters than Gen. Scott? ask a few knaves, whom a great many simpletons know no better than to echo.

"No, sirs! we know very little of the art of war, and Gen. Scott knows a great deal. There is no question on this point, and never has been."

The real question—which the above is asked only to shuffle out of sight—is this: Does Gen. Scott (or whoever it may be) *contemplate the same ends, and is he animated by like impulses and purposes, with the great body of the loyal, liberty-loving People of this country?* Does he stand up square on the line of 54 deg. 40 min., or is he squinting toward 35 deg. 30 min.? Does he want the rebels routed, or would he prefer to have them conciliated? When you answer these questions, you touch the marrow of the problem, which all the gas about Gen. Scott's military knowledge and our want of it is intended to dodge. Our columns will prove how long we waited and trusted, and exhorted others to trust that all was going right. We now hope, and urge others to hope, that all soon *will* be going right. But, if July shall be spent as June has been, we shall have to confess sadly that those hopes were not well grounded.

"Let no one attempt to fool himself with this bubble of military knowledge being the peculiar possession of a caste. There is knowledge that belongs especially to men trained to the profession of arms, but that is not in question. It needs no familiarity with Vauban, Turenne, or Jomini, to enable one to determine that a huge mass of infantry, without cavalry or field artillery, though it may be well calculated for holding the line of the Potomac and shielding Washington city from capture by assault, is not such an army as is required for a vigorous offensive in a hostile region, swarming with the enemy's light horse, and full of masked batteries, ambuscades, and strong positions entrenched and defended by heavy guns in position. Common sense and a very superficial acquaintance with military history are sufficient. Gentlemen who hold the People's proxies for the direction of this business, this is just the one result that your masters and backers will not abide. If the National forces shall be beaten in fair, stand-up fight, (which we do not believe possible,) the patriot millions will acknowledge the corn and the independence of Secession. If *our* side beats, the Rebel leaders must abscond, and the country be tranquilized on the good old basis of the supremacy of the Constitution and laws. But to have Jeff Davis and Toombs, Cobb, Floyd, and Wigfall return to Washington as conquerors by diplomacy, and crack their slave-whips over the heads of loyal, freedom-loving statesmen, is not to be tolerated nor thought of. And we may just as well determine who is who in three months as in thirty."—*Tribune*, July 1, 1861.

What H. G. Knew about Offensive Warfare by Land and by Water.

"There is no good reason why we should not have a militia of the sea as well as of the land. As we maintain no standing army equal to the exigency of war, but are obliged to fall back, when the occasion arises, upon the militia and volunteer force of the country, so we do not keep afloat a Navy large enough to answer the purpose of offence and defence in a like emergency, and may properly and wisely resort to similar aid. The reasonableness of the proposition is apparent upon its mere statement, and needs no argument. That the blockade should be rigidly enforced is questioned by nobody save those who question the propriety of prosecuting the war with vigor in any

direction. If the South is completely cut off from all foreign intercourse, her submission is only a question of time; if in the meanwhile she is severely punished by a vigorous campaign in the interior, the insurrection will be suppressed in a way that will render it impossible for treason ever to raise its head again within this Union. It is said that a forward movement is delayed in Virginia for want of wagons; it cannot be said that the blockade is delayed for want of ships, for they are ready made to the hands of the Administration. If it desires it, it can have before the 1st of August a fleet at sea that will draw an impenetrable line from the Potomac to the mouth of the Rio Grande."—*Tribune*, July 3, 1861.

What H. G. Knew about the Deficient Support given Gen. Butler.

"It is reported from Fortress Monroe that the Secretary of War has promised Gen. Butler that he shall at once be provided with whatever is necessary to render the army under his command competent for duty in the field. We rejoice to hear this. The visit of the Secretary and the consequent promise have not been made a moment too soon. Hitherto, Gen. Butler has been kept in systematic deficiency of many things that are absolutely indispensable to his rendering any valuable service; indeed, if it were intended to cripple him and deprive him of any possibility of doing what the country expects him to do, the course which has hitherto been pursued toward him would suffice with scarcely a variation. Of course the column which moves from the Fortress will have other wants, which will be attended to; but we believe we have indicated those which are most important. We have done this not at all for the information of the Secretary of War, but to justify Gen. Butler with the public. It is true that he has not yet accomplished what was hoped of him, and that complaints of imperfect organization and many abuses at the Fortress have become current; but the people should understand that this able officer has been placed in a position of comparative helplessness. We have not the slightest doubt that just as soon as he is even half furnished with the requisite means he will amply and brilliantly answer the anticipations of the people."—*Tribune*, July 7, 1861.

What H. G. thought about the operations of the United States Government.

"We do not, therefore, regret the attack upon Fort Sumter, but, on the contrary, rejoice in it, for to that stupendous outrage upon the people and terrible insult to the flag came a response which revealed how true and how strong the North is. We do not, therefore, regret that the purpose of the Government to abandon Fort Sumter as a military necessity was rendered impossible by the disobedience of the orders of the captain of a Federal ship, and that by such disobedience they were compelled at least to make an attempt to send succor enough to that brave little garrison to save them from starvation. We never believed in the 'military necessity' doctrine in regard to Fort Sumter, for it seemed to us the best way was a manly and straightforward way—to defend the flag and the property of the United States; and the result proved, by the defeat of the plans of the Government, that they were wrong in proposing to do anything else. However, though we see how events are overruled, and treason defeats weakness to the glory and the progress of the great cause of freedom and popular government, we nevertheless have no love for treason. We owe, under God, to the insolent disobedience of orders on the part of Capt. Adams, of the Sabine, in refusing to reinforce Fort Pickens, the surrender, on the part of the Government, of its intention of abandoning Fort Sumter, and its determination to attempt to throw in supplies instead. But why Capt. Adams has been left in command of that ship for nearly four months after such a defiance of his Government is one of those things (we wish to heaven they were fewer, and that we might not be compelled to discuss them) which we shall not attempt to explain, because we are at a loss to understand it. If what the Government intended to do in regard to Sumter was of any sort of consequence, why has not the man who defeated its plans so utterly and so unmercifully been punished? We don't know; we don't even profess to have a theory upon the subject; possibly the Administration also believes in Providence, and is careless as to what it does from an abiding faith that God will not permit it, whatever it does, to do wrong. But this we do know—the Sabine arrived at Portsmouth on the 4th, with Capt. Adams still in command of her. As it is held to be out of order to criticise anything the Government does, and to have any opinions of our own, ought we not immediately to take steps to give that worthy gentleman a public dinner?"—*Tribune*, July 9, 1861.

What H. G. Knew about the Graduates of the Military Academy.

"There is no reason to doubt that West Point has long been a nursery for breeding traitors at public expense. The Rebel Chief, Jeff Davis, is a West Point graduate; so are

Beauregard, Huger, Hardee, Lee, Johnson, Cooper, Magruder, and every other officer of rank in the rebel force. These men have all been free pupils of the United States, clothed and fed at Government expense. The clothes they had on their backs when they deserted the service of their country and turned traitors were bought and paid for by the United States. But West Point has only been one stage—the infant school for educating traitors. The War Department has been the graduating institution, and it has been the pleasing task of the Secretary of War to issue the diplomas of merit. The promotion of Emory is one of the most recent exhibitions of the official standard of merit in the War Department. What is the use of the Secretary asking the reason of the extraordinary treachery displayed in the army, or undertaking to trace its ‘promoting cause?’ Such promotions as Emory’s are promoting cause enough; the sin belongs not only to West Point, but is at the Secretary’s door, or at the door of whoever is responsible for such abuse of power and such an outrage upon national feeling and official decency. Mr. Cameron’s homily upon the treachery of the army looks very much like Satan reproving sin, in view of the action of his Department in promoting Emory, who is now under Mr. Cameron’s own order in Western Pennsylvania to raise cavalry recruits for the army. Does not sending such a man on that errand look very much like a deliberate insult to the patriotic impulses that have gathered hosts around the banner of the Union? Was ever the national sentiment of any people subjected to such shame and insult at home or abroad as is perpetrated by the State Department in respect to Harvey and by the War Department in respect to Emory? Can West Point be otherwise than a preparatory school for treason while the War Department holds such a position?”—*Tribune*, July 13, 1861.

What H. G. Knew about the Northern and Southern Armies.

“The *New York Times*, the other day, contained an explanation of Gen. Scott’s plans, directed against ignorant critics, and signed by An Officer of the Army, which we believe was written in the General’s Staff, the main point of which is, according to his authority, that if the Rebels are forced from Manassas Junction, they, covering their retreat with batteries and cavalry, will make another stand, fight again, and again retreat, only to turn once more upon us, and so forth. This all is clap-trap. The Officer of the Army gives to the Rebels credit for a military heroism of which not even the celebrated Guards of Napoleon or Wellington could have been capable, in thus retreating for days from position to position, and continually turning to show fight. We are sure if they do not disband after being forced from Manassas Junction, they will do it after a second discomfiture. Any one even in the slightest degree familiar with battles and history knows this well. Their cavalry will not be of much avail, and if our army has not sufficient cavalry to press on and break down a retreating enemy the fault is with those who for months and months refused to accept new regiments of horses, which to-day would be a perfect match for these Virginians, so terrible to the Officer of the Army. The rebels have even less flying artillery than we have, while we could have had to-day much more, if the same authorities which refused cavalry had not declined artillery when it was offered. The batteries of the Rebels not being movable, they could not cover their retreat with them, and establish them in new positions. So much for the great tactics of An Officer of the Army.”—*Tribune*, July 16, 1861.

What H. G. did to Hasten Aggressive Operations.

“This *Tribune*, at all events, is quite aware of the fact that ‘there are Two Hundred and Fifty Thousand (or more) Americans in arms to defend their country against Treason,’ and is naturally anxious to see them set about it. This War is costing the Government from Twenty to Forty Million of Dollars per month, and the Country, in the disruption and stagnation of its industry, a great deal more. We are naturally anxious, being ourselves heavy sufferers along with our neighbors, to see this deplorable state of things brought to an end at the earliest possible moment. We believe our soldiers are rather weakened than strengthened by inaction; that disease preys heavily upon them; that dissipation and riot creep in among them; and that the majority of our regiments (unless reinforced) are quite as effective the week after they leave home as three months after. We believe these two Hundred and Fifty Thousand Men will smash the face of the Rebellion in short order, if only let loose upon it, with good Generals at their head. We believe the misery endured every week throughout the land, because of idleness and want, outweighs the suffering that would result from two or three smart battles. In short, we believe the Patriot Soldiers are to-day able and eager to whip the Rebels, and we want to see them allowed to try. If they are *not* able to thrash the traitors in fair, stand-up fight, our pride revolts at the idea of slowly starving them into subjection or whipping them by virtue of money borrowed in Europe. We say, challenge them to meet the Patriot Volunteers in fair fight; if they quail, they are

ruined; if they fight and are beaten, they must give it up; while, if they beat us, we ought to do the same. Let us have this matter decided forthwith, so that our brave men may quit soldiering, and return to more profitable vocations. It does seem to us that to let the rebels remain in force for months within a day's march of Washington is the next thing to acknowledging their independence, and that we should either chase them away or own that we are unable. Such are the notions of *this Tribune*; the other will speak for itself. They may be very erroneous, but they are based on a hatred of compromise and all twaddling expedients."—*Tribune*, July 16, 1861

What H. G. Knew about the Contending Armies.

"The Stock Market went crazy yesterday under the impetus communicated by the advance of the Union armies from all sides towards the focus of rebellion in Virginia. It seems to be the universal and joyful conviction that this is 'the beginning of the end.'

"We have never disparaged the valor nor the efficiency of those whose hearts are in the rebellion. We have presumed that they will fight, and fight well. But we do not believe the thousands forced into the rebel armies by conscription or terror of mob violence will choose to sacrifice their lives for a cause they abhor; and herein we think the Union forces have a decided advantage. They are volunteers; they are fighting in their own cause; they *chose* to fight for it; and we feel sure they will do so with a resolution which the conscripts in the rebel armies will not, and should not, parallel. Hence we have been most anxious that this struggle should be submitted at the earliest moment to the ordeal of a fair, decisive battle. And our greatest solicitude springs from the fear that the Unionists shall be entrapped into ambuscades or hurled against impassible intrenchments. Give them a fair field, equal weapons and numbers, and we ask no more. If the Rebels shirk a battle in the open field, skulking behind embankments crowned with batteries, the war cannot be a long one. Their resources are very limited; their country lies open and penetrable; and their hopes of foreign aid will be blasted from the moment they avoid a battle. They have swaggered so loudly of their ability and eagerness to whip the Unionists two, three, four, or five to one, that the moment they refuse a battle the whole world will jeer them. They will be the butt of every joker, good, bad, and indifferent, from the moment they fly the open field. We do not say they *will* do this; a few days—possibly hours—will show."—*Tribune*, July 19, 1861.

What H. G. Knew about the Successful Movement "On to Richmond."

"A great battle was fought yesterday at Bull's Run in front of Beauregard's strongly fortified position at Manassas Junction. The forces engaged were the most numerous ever opposed in deadly affray on the continent of America. Gen. McDowell had assembled all his Brigadiers and Colonels at his headquarters at Centreville at 9 P. M. the evening before, and given them their orders. The troops who had been bivouacked in the fields and roads, covering an area of many square miles, commenced to move to the positions assigned them at 2½ A. M. The general movement was to the front and right flank to take up the position assigned them. Fire was opened by the National artillery at 6 A. M., and promptly replied to by the enemy, who had of course chosen their ground so as to give themselves all the cover and our troops all the exposure possible. The infantry were not brought into close action until hours of heavy cannonading, and it is morally certain that the enemy have been re-enforced by the arrival of Johnston's army from Winchester, while our opposing army, through Gen. Patterson's unfathomable strategy, remains several days' march distant. The Rebels had therefore every advantage—position, numbers, and perfect knowledge of the ground over which the Unionists advanced to engage them. Yet all did not avail against the enthusiasm and well-directed valor of the National forces. The Rebel Batteries were ultimately silenced, and their ranks forced back inch by inch, until they were driven from Bull's Run, leaving their dead on the field and the National troops undisputed victors."—*Tribune*, July 22, 1861.

What H. G. Ascertained was the Result of his On to Richmond.

"We have fought and been beaten. God forgive our rulers that this is so; but it is true, and cannot be disguised. The Cabinet, recently expressing, in rhetoric better adapted to a love-letter, a fear of being drowned in its own honey, is now nearly drowned in gore; while our honor on the high seas has only been saved by one daring and desperate negro, and he belonging to the merchant marine. The 'sacred soil' of Virginia is crimson and wet with the blood of thousands of Northern men, needlessly shed. The great and universal question pervading the public mind is: 'Shall this condition of things continue?'

"A decimated and indignant people will demand the immediate retirement of the present Cabinet from the high places of power, which, for one reason or another, they have shown themselves incompetent to fill. Give us for the President capable advisers, who comprehend the requirements of the crisis, and are equal to them; and, for the Army, leaders worthy of the rank and file, and our banner, now drooping, will soon float once more in triumph over the whole land. With the right men to lead, our people will show themselves unconquerable."—*Tribune*, July 23, 1861.

What H. G. Said in Justification of his Military Advice.

"The *N. Y. Times* continues, in its successive issues, to demand the dismissal of certain members of President Lincoln's Cabinet, who are charged with having urged the recent advance, and with general opposition to the views of General Scott.

"We have confessed our own terrible mistake in the premises, and are trying to amend it. General Scott has been equally ingenuous and candid. 'It was a miscalculation of forces,' he says of the recent disaster. That is the real truth. None of us had any idea of the immense numbers and tremendous enginery of War that the Rebels had silently collected around their position at Manassas Junction. Whoever ordered or planned the attack on that position was utterly unaware of their strength."—*Tribune*, July 27, 1861.

What H. G. Knew about Gen. McClellan as a Commander.

"The chief cause of this changed atmosphere is the confidence now felt at Washington—a confidence produced by the rapidly-arriving troops, the zeal of the Government in all its Departments, and especially by the advent of the young General who is called to the command of the Army of the Potomac, and by the admirable system of discipline he has put in force.

"But the personal qualities of Gen. McClellan—and the characteristics of his mind, perhaps do more to inspire confidence in him as a leader than any positive reforms he proposes to effect. He looks at his army as an army of men, and of men who have brains, and hearts, and organs of digestion. He has an idea that upon the bodily comfort and mental cheerfulness of the individuals depends the trustworthiness of the consolidated forces. Acknowledging the truth of the saying that what one does for himself is well done, he attends personally to such of the details of his camps as he can reach, and examines single examples of the mass he is not able to cover. He comes soon to know the faces of many of his soldiers, and to be personally known by all of them. As an effect of this they regard him with an enthusiasm which will send them with shouts into the most desperate fight, inspiring a desire to win his commendation."—*Tribune*, August 1, 1861.

What H. G. Knew about the Enforcement of Martial Law.

"Martial Law is likely to be frequently enforced upon municipalities during the period in which our armies are engaged in crushing rebellion. It has, to some extent, been dominant at Baltimore for months past. It has been recently proclaimed at St. Louis, and at Washington, a murderer has been tried and executed under its operation, the execution following the crime within ten days. One of its peculiar characteristics is the swiftness with which it converts chaos into order. Punishment, also, succeeds conviction with a remorseless celerity that startles a community accustomed to the tortuous and tardy movements of the civil law. Even in a modified form, Martial Law struck instant terror to the heart of rebellious Baltimore, broke up its treasonable organizations, and drove off hundreds of its traitors. At St. Louis the same instantaneous pacification followed its enforcement. An impending insurrection was crushed without bloodshed, anarchy was prevented, peace maintained, and the highly excited populace were assured of safety and protection for the loyal, while the simple proclamation struck treason powerless."—*Tribune*, August 26, 1861.

What H. G. Knew about Slavery as the Real Cause of the War.

"Battles are earnest matters. Men are killed, a great many of them, in battles; and human life, at least white human life, is worth something. War is expensive, and dollars are dollars, and will probably continue to be dollars for some time to come. There is no cause under Heaven of this quarrel but Human Slavery. It doesn't matter into what forms of words you put it, or whether you display or disguise it, but every child knows that this insurrection is in the interest of Slavery, and of a very mean kind of Slavery—at that. If we fight well we weaken Slavery; if we gain a battle Slavery receives a blow; if we conquer we conquer Slavery; our opponents are Slaveholders,

and they are in the field avowedly as Slaveholders to redress wrongs said to be endured by them as Slaveholders; while the main purport of all their manifestoes to the world is just this—that Slavery is in danger and that Slavery must be preserved. What fools, idiots, dolts, knaves, or good-natured asses are we that we do not accept the issue which is tendered to us, when such acceptance would make us strong not merely in the righteousness of our cause, but in material and vital assistance and alliances! Can't we afford to be strong? Are we afraid of success? Do we shrink from victory."—*Tribune*, January 8, 1862.

What H. G. Knew about the War Policy of Lincoln's Administration.

"The devotion, the efforts, the sacrifices of the People, call for a corresponding display of energy and vigor on the part of the Government. Hitherto, to the best of our recollection, the enthusiasm of the masses has been aroused or stimulated by no animating appeal, by no electric word, on the part of their rulers. To a dispassionate observer it might seem that the People had pushed forward the Government at every stage of the great struggle in which they are embarked together. In no document or manifesto emanating from the Head of the Nation has the causelessness, the perfidy, the baseness, of this infernal rebellion been set forth in terms glowing with a just and fiery indignation. In no such document has the great truth that this war is waged by an aristocratic conspiracy to upturn the foundations of democratic liberty been lucidly and effectively set forth. Even the Emperor of Russia's kind and admirable letter of sympathy and solicitude, so plainly inviting a response in which the case of the Nation against the Rebels should be authoritatively stated, if not argued, at the bar of Christendom, was answered with cold politeness and deferential evasion. Our representatives in Europe are formally instructed not to expose the baselessness of the pretexts on which this rebellion is justified—not even to state, what everybody knows, that this is an uprising of Slavery against Freedom. We think this policy is not wise nor well, and we beg our rulers to consider the grounds on which they have hitherto adhered to it."—*Tribune*, January 10, 1862.

What H. G. Knew in 1862 about a Vigorous Prosecution of the War.

"If we are ever to put down the rebellion we shall do it within a very few months. We have more men and more means wherewith to attack and overcome the rebel armies than we shall have a year hence, should the war continue so long. If we beat them, we shall have guns enough; if they beat us, the same. One way or another, we shall have peace before the close of 1862; and if we cannot whip them with the arms we now have, we never shall. And since we need every dollar we have or can raise for present pressing uses, we protest against spending one dollar for arms that are not to be in the hands of our soldiers before the 1st of May. If we should want more arms after the rebellion is put down, let them be provided for; for the present, let us use every dollar where it will tell in the present conflict."—*Tribune*, January 31, 1862.

What H. G. Knew about the Degradation of a Resort to Paper Money.

"We shiver on the brink of a bottomless abyss of Shinplaster circulation. Congress must provide funds for the vigorous and immediate prosecution of the War for the Union, and it seems to have been settled that it shall take the short and easy method of making Treasury Notes a legal tender. We utterly dissent from this conclusion, and yet there has been so much delay and hesitation and vacillation that it is possible that no other means of giving immediate relief to the Treasury now remains. It might have been otherwise. The arrest, conviction, and condign punishment of a few official swindlers in December, combined with a passage of a searching Retrenchment bill, and such vigor in the prosecution of the war as was practicable prior to the general dissolution of the Southern roads by the January rains and thaws, might have been made the basis of an appeal to the People for a Patriotic Loan of Two or Three Hundred Millions, which would have saved us from the slough in which we now flounder. But precious time was idled or trifled away, and we are doing in February, with diminished resources and damaged credit, the work which should have been done two months earlier. Hence the necessity for the degrading resort to Shinplasters."—*Tribune*, February 10, 1862.

What H. G. Knew was the Condition of Affairs at the South in February, 1862.

"The pressure of want and misery throughout the Confederacy is fearful. The rich are quite generally reduced to the bare necessities of life, while the poor are everywhere in rags and most of them suffering for food. Corn and fresh pork have long

been their chief resources; the pork begins to fail, while the scarcity of salt has prevented much preparation of cured meats for the warmer season, already opening on the Gulf. The enlistments of their best regiments are beginning to expire; within a few weeks fifty thousand of their veterans will set their faces homeward, and no hundred thousand raw levies can make good their places. As to the conscription now proceeding in some States and threatened in others, we do not believe the men it will send into the field will be worth the inevitable cost of arming and supporting them. In the defence of a strong position the militia of the vicinage may be of some value; but in answering the varied requirements of a campaign they will go but a little way. The conscription proves the desperation of the rebel cause, but will not obviate it. The masses thus impressed to fight in the quarrel of a traitorous oligarchy will be slow to shed their blood for a cause whose triumph is their own permanent disfranchisement and degradation."—*Tribune*, February 11, 1862.

What H. G. Knew in February, 1862, about Securing Peace within Sixty Days.

"When the National cause was disgraced as well as discomfited by that unequalled combination of imbecility, incapacity, and treason which enabled all the Rebel armies in Eastern Virginia to fight and beat half of one of our's at Bull Run, the most unbounded successes were placed within the reach of the traitors. They might have taken Washington any time within the next forty-eight hours with five regiments, when Baltimore would have fallen almost without a blow. The next Sunday should have seen them on the Susquehanna, with nearly all the State of Maryland, including the immense resources and mechanical capacities of Baltimore, in their undisputed possession. Let, then, Congress cease ordering gun-boats to be built, when timber commands exorbitant prices, for use five or six months hence; let it cease to talk of borrowing Five Hundred Millions wherewith to carry on the war after next July, and devote all its energies to providing the means of paying forthwith the money now due our brave defenders and those who have fed them, and we may have the Union thoroughly restored and peace proclaimed within sixty days. Let the morrow take care of itself, while due provision is made for the needs and the work of to-day."—*Tribune*, February 21, 1862.

What H. G. Knew about Another Movement "On to Richmond."

"The Country and its brave defenders will hear with joy that an advance of the Grand Army of the Potomac is morally certain to be made forthwith. The considerations which impel this movement are so obvious and pressing that our Military leaders could not have disregarded them but in deference to obstacles more unyielding than mud, and more terrible than the remains of Virginia Johnston's wasted and disheartened forces at Centerville and Manassas. The vigorous reconnoissance of Saturday is the prelude to stirring events. We shall be sorely disappointed if there is a Rebel flag flying north of Richmond at the end of March.

"Let not, then, our Western heroes nourish and dilate on the fond illusion that their section possesses a monopoly of Military genius and prowess—that the Union is to be saved by Western valor alone. If a fault at all, it surely has not been the fault of our Eastern soldiers that the Rebels have been allowed to hold two-thirds of Virginia in quiet throughout the last three months, and unmolested to draw off their forces to other sections until it is quite probable that, when we do advance on their late strongholds, we shall find them as empty and harmless as Bowling Green. The Army of the Potomac was stronger, more eager, more effective, on the 1st of December, when the weather and roads were perfect, than it is to-day; and there has not been a day since then when it would not have hailed with wild enthusiasm an order to advance. That order they are about to receive, and their response to it will be worthy the grandsons of the gray-coated farmers who stood to their arms at Bunker Hill and conquered at Bennington and Saratoga."—*Tribune*, February 24, 1862.

What H. G. Knew about the Enlistment of Negroes on either side.

"If Jeff. Davis and Beauregard could raise a hundred thousand negro volunteers, they would jump at the chance, and their white followers would never dream of murmuring. That they do not largely increase their Black regiments is owing to the fact that they know the instincts, the hopes, and the antipathies of the negro race all incline them to the Union side, and they dare not trust them with arms. They could raise a hundred thousand negro troops forthwith by offering freedom to all who would enlist; but, hard as it would be to arm, it would be harder still to disarm them, and they know that a law, resistless as gravitation, is gradually identifying the Union cause with that of Universal Liberty. Hate emancipation as we may, to this complexion we must come

at last, if we are ever to crush out the Slaveholders' Rebellion. And whenever Negro regiments shall be invited to fight for the Union on the basis of Liberty for all, they will be forthcoming to any extent that may be desired."—*Tribune*, April 21, 1862.

What H. G. Knew about what Gen. Pope was about to do.

"Will there be a battle soon near the centre of Virginia?" We answer, Yes, probably, if the Rebels can manage, as heretofore, to attack Gen. Pope's army, or part of it, in overwhelming force. They fight to win, and with less Chivalry than any civilized belligerent for the last half century. They are great on surprises, ambushes, masked batteries, and every variety of two upon one. If they have ever yet voluntarily given or offered battle upon fair, open ground, when the hostile forces were nearly equal, we do not know where or when. But let them have a chance for a snap judgment—for an attack in crushing force—and they are brave as lions and savage as bloodhounds. It looks as though they would find Gen. Pope an ugly customer, but time will tell. He seems to understand the value of moments, and to know how to plant his blows and get away without exposing himself to punishment. Still, Stonewall Jackson is a wily and active antagonist, and will not soon relinquish the hope of catching him at a disadvantage. If he does, he will doubtless make the most of his opportunity. But we do not believe the Rebel chiefs will choose to spare any large proportion of their army of Virginia for operations very far from Richmond while the Army of the Potomac, flanked by gunboats, lies within a day's march or so from Richmond. The very stillness of that army will excite their apprehensions. We heartily wish, indeed, that our two armies in Virginia were combined on the high road from Fredericksburg to Richmond. That detour to the Peninsula seems to us the great mistake of the campaign. Yet Pope's movements seem so well planned and rapidly executed, that we do not believe the Rebels can hurl an overwhelming force upon him without giving Gen. McClellan a fair chance to take Richmond."—*Tribune*, July 22, 1862.

What H. G. Knew about the Women of the South.

"Whatever difference of opinion may exist on other subjects, we never heard a demur from any quarter to the assumption that the Women of the South have been far more early, earnest, and unanimous in their championship of the Rebellion than their husbands, brothers, and sons. They were, prior to Jeff. Davis's sweeping conscription, the chief recruiting sergeants for his armies. Nobody who aspired to their favor, or lived within the sphere of their daily influence, could keep out of the Rebel army without feeling himself an object of their fiercest scorn and derision. They have stimulated treason to the utmost; they have reviled and scoffed at our Unionists whom the fortunes of war had made prisoners; and when the defeat and flight of the Rebel forces had placed them under the undisputed authority of our flag, they have hissed and insulted our triumphant columns with a cowardly malice which was never surpassed. In doing this, they have paid the strongest possible tribute to the morality, self-control, and forbearance of our armies. Were the Union soldiers as dissolute and reckless as soldiers are apt to be, no woman not utterly abandoned and shameless would dare thus to provoke them by useless and impotent abuse."—*Tribune*, July 31, 1862.

What H. G. Knew about the Cavalry of the Union Army.

"The Union cavalry, with exceptions by no means numerous, are little better than a disgrace to our armies. Made up, apparently, of recruits who saw in this particular service the prospect of lazy immunity from the fatigues of campaign life, it has neither the spirit nor endurance which are especially demanded to give it the first elements of utility. Moreover, so far as our observation has extended, our cavalry soldiers average a lower grade of intellect and manhood than our infantry, when in fact they should rate higher. As a rule, it is undoubtedly fair to say that out of every regiment, not a squadron can be found that can either ride now, or care ever to learn. Their condition in the saddle is perfectly helpless. Their weapons, instead of being a protection, are only a burden to them. Hence the numerous, shameful stories of arms cast away by our cavalry preparatory to a fight, the disgrace of which it thus doubled. We should not like to say to what extent we believe this incapacity is shared by officers as well as privates. With so much ignorance of the use of horses, nothing comes more naturally than their abuse. Half the animals sent to supply the wants of a fresh cavalry regiment might as well be turned into the slaughter-house directly as dispatched to their destruction by the devious though not less certain route of torment and neglect. It is next to impossible to pass through any one of our volunteer cavalry corps without being shocked at some exhibition of cruelty to the animals. We have seen a half drunken private cut down from the horse he was running to death by the sword of a general officer. The two

brutes fell together, but only the human one recovered. His immediate superior officer being called to account, offered in extenuation that the man was only doing it all for fun! Such fun as this wastes more treasure than the supplies of an entire regiment cost, and such fun will not be brought to an end until a new system of discipline and organization is introduced into our cavalry service."—*Tribune*, September 16, 1862.

What H. G. Knew about Kirby Smith's Raid into Kentucky.

"Such was the well-earned fame of Kentuckians—Col. Nimrod Wildfire, then representative before the footlights, being represented as so 'spiling for a fight,' having been inhumanly deprived of that luxury for the interminable space of ten days, that he would have to 'kiver himself in a salt-barrel to keep'—that we have been wondering how many invading Rebels would be required to show a front in that State for the space of ten days, and have concluded that nothing less than one hundred thousand would answer.

"When John Morgan made his horse-stealing raid across the State last Summer, meeting very little resistance, we explained the matter by considering that he traveled so fast—always taking fresh horses to replace those that from time to time grew weary—that the hunters aforesaid could not overtake him. But this new parade of Kirby Smith throughout the famous 'Blue Grass' region does not abide that solution. Here are some twenty to thirty thousand Rebels who have advanced through the very heart of the State, from Tennessee to the banks of the Ohio, routing the only Union force gathered to defend the Capital, (which contained, we believe, just one Kentucky regiment,) and pushing on to threaten both Cincinnati and Louisville without serious opposition. Perhaps the interruption of the mails and telegraph has left us in the dark as to what is going on in that quarter. The facts will doubtless soon shine forth in all their glory; and we shall be very glad to hear of the prompt and enthusiastic rally of the aforesaid Hunters to drive Rebellion and Disunion into the sea."—*Tribune*, September 20, 1862.

What H. G. Knew about Peace Movements in September, 1862.

"We have a very strong conviction that the Confederate leaders will not allow the 1st of January to approach without very earnest efforts, though they may be underhand, to stop the desolating civil war which they so recklessly inaugurated under the gravest misconceptions of the military resources and tenacity of purpose of the loyal States. Hangman Foote's recent proposition in the Rebel Congress of an Embassy to Washington will probably be overruled, but the effort which it contemplates will nevertheless be made. The resources of the Rebels, consisting mainly of boundless issues of paper promises, backed by no system of taxation, are not easily exhausted; but they have no clothing for a winter campaign, having exhausted that which they bought on credit of our Northern merchants in 1860, and swindled them out of the pay for, and their British friends have learned, by sad experience, that smuggling valuable cargoes into blockaded ports at a heavy risk, only to sell them to people who can't pay for them, is extra hazardous. In short, the Rebellion don't pay, and it will have to be given up. Whenever the Rebels really desire peace—as we think they very soon will, if they do not already—they have but to notify the Government that they are ready to return to loyalty, and to that end have abrogated all ordinances, acts, and oaths of allegiance inconsistent therewith. President Lincoln would thereupon feel warranted, we doubt not, in issuing a Proclamation of Amnesty, inviting the States lately in rebellion to elect Members of Congress as if no rebellion had existed. The Rebels would need no further assurance of immunity; their friends of the Vallandigham persuasion would guarantee them a practical ascendancy in the House, if not in the Senate also, and thus shield them from all serious harm. And, if they should choose to have a Convention to revise the Federal Constitution, we have no doubt that this would be easy of attainment, though we should prefer to have no stipulation on the subject. They might have had one without objection in 1861; they can have one without stipulation in 1863. But the true and sufficient basis of immediate peace is 'The Constitution as it is.' Man can devise no better."—*Tribune*, September 26, 1862.

What H. C. Knew about the People's Loss of Confidence in the Lincoln Administration.

"There is a partial truth in the allegation that the Administration has lost ground with the People—that is, it is not to-day so strong in the public confidence as it might and should have been. A majority of the people of the loyal States still sustain it; but it might have had the hearty support of nearly all that are worth having by a different course. What is needed to animate the loyal States as with one fervid soul, and rally them around the Administration in one compact, enthusiastic mass, is a conviction that the War is henceforth to be prosecuted with a vigor and energy hitherto unknown. Let

them feel that their Government is terribly in earnest; that it is intent on crushing out the Rebellion forthwith, and they will rally to its support as they never have done since the few memorable days that followed the bombardment of Fort Sumter. But 'confidence is a plant of slow growth,' and once definitely lost, is not easily regained. Hours in a great crisis are years, and there is a danger that the President may lose more than he can ever regain."—*Tribune*, October 22, 1862.

What H. G. Knew about a Peace Movement in December, 1862.

"One of two things is certain; Barney and Greene either were the authorized bearers of overtures of Peace from the Rebels, or they were not. If they were, and those propositions were ever laid before the Government, they must have been so preposterous, or came in so questionable a shape that they were rejected, or refused to be listened to by the Government without a moment's hesitation. A word from the State Department at Washington could very easily settle that question. But if, on the other hand, there were really no such overtures, but Barney and Greene, deceived by casual and unmeaning talk of leading Rebels, and intoxicated with the hope of becoming great pacificators, or meaning merely to manufacture some little notoriety for themselves, built up on the slenderest foundations this scheme of peace, what then becomes of Mr. Fernando Wood's assertions? Have he and his confederates really received some other intimations than those brought by Barney and Greene that the Rebels are desirous that the war shall come to an end on any terms? Or have they—Wood in the East, *The Chicago Times* in the West—availed themselves of the untrustworthy statement of two crack-brained enthusiasts, to sow the seeds of distrust in the Government in the popular mind, to throw new obstacles in the way of the Administration, to obstruct military operations, to give time to the Rebels, and to pave the way to delay in the consummation on the 1st of January of the Proclamation of Freedom to the Slaves? If this be all—if the Woods, Seymour, Vallandigham, Cox, and their fellow-plotters have resorted to such base as well as puerile measures to deceive the country, it is well the country should know it. It is a proof of how weak they are, as well as how unscrupulous."—*Tribune*, December 11, 1862.

What H. G. Knew about Peace Negotiations in the Winter of '62-'63.

"Early last Winter we were approached by parties favorable to Peace, and entreated to contribute to its attainment. Having always been most anxious for the earliest possible Peace consistent with fidelity to those hopes for Humanity which are bound up in the life of the American Republic, we listened to the appeal and resolved to do our utmost toward the achievement of a tolerable Peace. To that end we labored faithfully so long as any hope of attaining it remained, willing to brave the anger and alienation of valued friends if we might, at whatever personal cost, contribute to an early conclusion of this desolating war. No word of conciliation or arbitration could be evoked from that side. They wanted Peace, of course; but Peace by surrender on our side, by Disunion, by the giving up to them not only of all they have, but of all they want, including a great deal that they have not, and some that they never had. In other words, having appealed from the ballot-box and the rostrum to the bayonet and the sword, they proposed to end the struggle as they had begun it, bidding the hardest fend off and the weaker go to the wall. And we, after weeks of earnest pursuit of some endurable Peace proposition from the Rebels, were obliged to give it up without having come in sight of any Rebel proposition at all."—*Tribune*, May 11, 1863.

What H. G. Knew about Securing Peace in January, 1863.

NEW YORK, Jan. 2, 1863.

W. C. JEWETT, Esq., Washington, D. C.—DEAR SIR: In whatever you may do to restore peace to our distracted country, bear these things in mind: 1. Whatever action is taken must be between the Government of the United States and the accredited authorities of the Confederates. There must be no negotiations or conditions between unofficial persons. All you can do is to render authorized negotiations possible by opening a way for them. 2. In such negotiations, our Government cannot act without a trusted, though informal assurance that the Confederates have taken the initiative. The rupture originated with them; they must evince a preliminary willingness to make peace; and, on being assured that this is reciprocated, they must initiate the formal proposition. 3. If arbitration shall be resorted to, these conditions must be respected: First. The arbiter must be a Power which has evinced no partiality or unfriendliness to either party. Second. One that has no interest in the partition or downfall of our country. Third. One that does not desire the failure of the republican principle in government. Great Britain and France are necessarily excluded by their having virtu-

ally confessed their wishes that we should be divided; and Louis Napoleon has an especial interest in proving republics impracticable. For if the republican is a legitimate, beneficent form of government, what must be the verdict of history on the destroyer of the French Republic? You will find, I think, no hearty supporter of the Union who will agree that our Government shall act in the premises, except on a frank, open proposition from the Confederates, proposing arbitration by a friendly Power or Powers. I can consider no man a friend of the Union who makes a parade of Peace propositions or Peace agitation prior to such action. Yours, (signed) HORACE GREELEY.—*Tribune*, May 11, 1863.

What H. G. knew about Democratic aid to the Rebellion in 1863,

"Now, Mr. Doolittle, I am one of that small, perhaps, but increasing class of Republicans who have grown weary of this. We have had about enough of fighting the Southern Rebels in our front and the Northern Democrats in our rear. Our property, our lives are at the disposal of the Government, and will be cheerfully rendered up for the maintenance of the Union; but we do not believe the war can be long protracted unless the Democratic party can be compelled to abandon its complicity with red-handed treason. While it shall continue to carry elections without rebuke by direct appeals to the cowardice, the disloyalty, and the avarice of the multitude—while it does not hesitate to say, 'Vote the Democratic ticket, and the draft will be arrested, the War taxes repealed, and the currency restored to solvency by a speedy Peace,' I apprehend that the most earnest efforts of the Republicans will be put forth in vain.

"There is no need of a long war. Just let the People of the loyal States unitedly resolve that the Rebellion shall be put down, and its last ember will be dead by next June. We have the men and the means and can fight the Rebels out of munitions in a month. Only let it be generally agreed that we will crush out the Rebel Confederacy in the impending campaign or frankly give up the job, and we can have men and money enough. It is the prospect of never-ending War that depresses the National credit and paralyzes patriotic devotion."—*Tribune*, February 7, 1863.

What H. G. Finally Knew about Gen. McClellan.

"When General McClellan was called to Washington, we most heartily approved, commended, and rejoiced over his appointment. We knew then, as well as we do now, that he was a bigoted Pro-Slavery Democrat, but we cared nothing for that so long as we believed him intent on crushing the Rebellion. We clung to him through disappointment and disaster, waiting for the roads to dry, the Potomac to reach a proper stage, 'the leaves to fall,' &c., &c., until we were reluctantly driven to the conclusion that he was under the direction and control of self-seeking, partisan wire-workers who had decided that the rebellion should not be put down by force of arms, but that the Rebel chiefs should be bribed or bought over to further acquiescence in the existence of the Union by new concessions to the Slave Power, involving the further extension and aggrandizement of slavery in our Union. And as that is, in our view, the worst conceivable result of our present struggle, involving every element of national crime, disgrace, and downfall, we slowly, reluctantly surrendered all faith in Gen. George B. McClellan—all hope of triumph under his command. We regard him as a man of moderate general ability, a pretty good defensive engineer, a slow, timid, and ineffective General, not at heart disloyal, but the associate and the instrument of craftier men whose hearts are with Jeff. Davis, and who are more solicitous for the preservation of Slavery than for that of the Union."—*Tribune*, July 6, 1863.

What H. G. Knew about the Prospect of Foreign Intervention.

"I stated, in reply to *The Times*, that I believed the Rebels would be beaten in the campaign now opening, and that being beaten they would be compelled to lay down their arms; and that Foreign Intervention, should any take place, would be on the side of the Union. I added that if we should be beaten, the Intervention would probably take the side of the Rebels—in other words, it would base itself upon accomplished facts, and urge that they be respected. Here are my words:

"We believe that the time will come—we do not say how soon, as that must depend on the results of conflicts yet future—when the Great Powers of Europe will mediate—not by blows, nor by menaces, but by representations—against a continuance of the struggle as fruitless, wasteful butchery, and urge a settlement in the interests of Humanity and Commerce."—*Tribune*, February 2, 1863.

What H. G. Knew about Gen. Hooker's advance at Chancellorsville.

"It is positively affirmed that a great battle, seven hours in duration, was fought on Sunday at Chancellorsville, between Gen. Hooker and Gen. Lee, in which the Rebels

were repulsed, with immense losses on both sides, and the death of several Major-Generals on ours. Neither, therefore, in the news which we have received by mail, nor in the silence which the Government preserves, nor in the relative positions of the two forces, do we find cause for other than confident expectation of decisive success. It may be presumed there has been heavy work, the result of which we do not know; but we regard it as very probable that the general engagement may have been postponed, or that if a serious battle has taken place, the news is only withheld because Gen. Hooker did not choose, in the circumstances explained above, to convert a repulse of the enemy into an immediate rout. *—Tribune, May 5, 1863.*

What H. G. Knew about the Military Situation in July, 1863.

"Cicero, belaboring Catiline, in one of a celebrated series of philippics, remarks that the day upon which we were saved should be dearer to us than the day upon which we were born. If this be so, perhaps a pleasanter festival awaits us in the future than that which has been so dear to us in the past. From one point of view this is doubtless the darkest Fourth of July which has dawned upon us since the commencement of our national existence. From another, we do sincerely believe that it is the brightest. Heretofore there has been such a vast and dishonorable disproportion between our profession and practice, that our Fourth of July feast in honor of Human Equality has been to many honest minds but a dismal and mocking saturnalia, noisy but purposeless, enthusiastic but fearfully inconsistent. Our very finest orations have seemed full of a savage and skillful irony. We could hardly talk of liberty without laughing in each other's faces. The Declaration of Independence read like a rare joke. That famous axiomatic, initial sentence, the peg upon which the whole document hangs by a sort of logical necessity, was sneered at by Calhoun and his disciples, denounced by Divinity Doctors, and demolished by the Ethnologists as a mere conceit from the Frenchified mind of Mr. Jefferson. 'I say that all men are not born free and equal,' said Mr. Calhoun; 'a negro is not born free, and he never can be my equal!' 'Men born free and equal' cried Dr. Lord, 'stuff and nonsense! read the Book of Genesis!' 'Free and equal, indeed!' simpered the Ethnological Sciolist; 'look at that slopping facial angle, and then talk of Freedom and Equality if you can!'" *—Tribune, July 4, 1863.*

What H. G. Knew was the Turning Point of the War.

"Confidently as the Nation has waited to hear the surrender of Vicksburg, the announcement came yesterday with the suddenness of an unexpected triumph, and filled with new happiness the grateful hearts of a people which had just welcomed the tidings of Victory and deliverance in the East. The steady purpose, the unshaken fortitude, the fertile talent, the heroic determination of Gen. Grant, and the courage of his noble army, are crowned at last with success. The nation owes to them a triumph so brilliant, and so fruitful of results, that its gratitude is lost in the bewilderment of Joy; but it reverences the great qualities and great achievements of this army and its leader not less than it will when other victories shall have added lustre to the completeness of this. The fall of Vicksburg divides the Rebel Confederacy territorially, destroys its political coherence, and shatters its military strength. The centralized despotism which Jefferson Davis sought to establish, the slaveholding empire which should girdle the Gulf, and even the last hope of an independent national existence, sank into the ground when the banner of the Republic rose over the citadel of the Mississippi. Insurgent States may still maintain an armed opposition to the authority of the Government, but their rebellious alliance is dissolved, and their ability to conduct a great war is at an end. Henceforth the Rebellion is manifestly a hopeless struggle against overwhelming forces; its claim to be respected as a Revolution is an imposture, and its decaying fortunes will be followed with hardly more interest than belongs to a local insurrection." *—Tribune, July 8, 1863.*

What H. G. Knew about Purchasing Substitutes.

"Does a citizen who, being drafted to serve in the Union armies, promptly and cheerfully provides and pays an acceptable substitute to serve in his stead, fulfil his legal and patriotic obligations? Common sense and the law of the land say yes; faction, disloyalty, and personal malice say no. Which shall be believed? We have been repeatedly summoned to work on the roads of the district in which lies our home, and have always obeyed the requisition by substitute. Not that we deemed labor on the roads dishonorable or repulsive; not that we did not fully recognize and cheerfully fulfil the obligation resting on us to do our share toward making and maintaining good roads, but simply because we could employ our own time to better advantage than in road-making, and could pay a more effective road-maker to work thereat in our stead

with a part of what we could earn during the time he thus acted as our substitute. The postmaster was satisfied; so was our substitute; the public interest was well regarded, and nobody yet complained of or clamored at our making roads by proxy. Then why complain of the man who, having a family to support and a competence to win, being drafted to serve the country in arms, sends a more hardy, robust man—perhaps an experienced soldier—in his stead.”—*Tribune*, September 22, 1863.

What H. G. Knew about Entrusting the Management of the War to Gen. Grant.

“It has pleased Congress to decree the appointment of a Lieutenant-General, and the President, with the entire assent of both Houses, has selected Ulysses S. Grant for the most responsible position. We had nothing to say, pro or con, while this matter was in progress; we neither urged the creation of a Lieutenant-Generalship, nor recommended Gen. Grant for the position. But now that the work is done, we must respectfully suggest that the conduct of the War, under the President, be committed absolutely to the Lieutenant-General, and that we all—Congress, Cabinet, and the Press, Republicans, Democrats, Conservatives, and Radicals—take hold and strengthen his hands for the immense responsibility devolved upon him. Let him not be impeded or embarrassed in his work either by speeches or articles, advice or criticism, until we shall have given him a fair trial. Let him not be condemned for one miscarriage, if there shall be one, but generally trusted and sustained until he shall have decisively shown that he can or cannot put down the Rebellion. Then let us act as the good of the Nation shall dictate; but, until then, let in his behalf Stonewall Jackson’s message to his superior: ‘Send me more men and fewer orders.’”—*Tribune*, March 5, 1864.

What H. G. Knew when Gen. Grant took command of the Army of the Potomac.

“To Lieut.-Gen. Grant the Nation’s love and gratitude will be fervent and unmeasured. The Army of the Potomac hardly knew him a month ago; it knows him now and ever more. Had he shared the current estimate of its capacities, his misconception would have been natural; but he knew its worth instinctively and trusted implicitly to its valor and devotion. The result proves that he was right, and that that Army has at last found its true leader. Let us harbor no shadow of doubt that under his guidance that Army will promptly and thoroughly complete the work to which it has been called, and to which it has now proved itself so nobly adapted.”—*Tribune*, May 14, 1864.

What H. G. Knew about the True Military Genius of Gen. Grant.

“We loathe man-worship, and distrust the worth of a nation which but one man can save; yet every day’s experience strengthens our faith in Lieut.-Gen. Grant. The task devolved on him is arduous: he is confronted by an able General and a gallant, veteran army, who enjoy enormous advantages in their defensive attitude, the nature of the country, and their intimate knowledge of its topography; yet, from the hour of his crossing the Rapidan, Gen.-Grant has gone steadily, sturdily forward, repelling impetuous attacks; assailing (when necessary) strongly fortified positions; withdrawing unobserved from the immediate front of his wary antagonist and effecting the most daring and difficult flank movements, thereby achieving the fruits of victory without encountering the carnage which is the usual cost of such success—and all this with a stern quietude that indicates reserved force and a consciousness of powers adapted to any emergency. We are not apt to be over-sanguine; we realize that victory is often a happy accident and that occurrences purely fortuitous often derange and defeat the ablest combinations; but having noted his bearing under every phase of fortune, his quick improvement of advantages, and his skillful reparation of mischances, we cannot doubt that he has a true military genius, and that he will do whatever one man can do to break the back of the Slaveholder’s Rebellion.”—*Tribune*, July 2, 1864.

What H. G. Knew about his Peace Mission to Niagara Falls.

“The telegraphic stories concerning Peace conferences at Niagara Falls have a slender foundation in fact, but most of the details are very wide of the truth. The Editor of this paper has taken part in and been privy to no further or other negotiations than were fully authorized, and more than authorized; but these related solely to bringing the antagonists face to face in amicable rather than belligerent attitude, with a view to the initiation of an earnest effort for Peace, to be prosecuted at Washington. The movement has had no immediate success. Of course, all reports that the writer has been engaged in proposing, or receiving, or discussing hypothetical terms or bases of Peace, whether with accredited agents of the Richmond authorities or others, are ut-

terly mistaken. He has never had the slightest authorization to do anything of the sort; and he is quite aware of those provisions of law which relate to volunteer negotiators with public enemies. Those provisions he heartily approves, and is nowise inclined to violate. More than this he does not feel as yet at liberty to state, though he soon may be.

"All that he can now add is his general inference that the pacification of our country is neither so difficult nor so distant as seems to be generally supposed."—*Tribune*, July 12, 1864.

"Meantime I very gladly agree that I wrote the President (as I understood that others did to his Premier if not to him) that certain eminent Rebels were in Canada, at or near Niagara Falls, who professed to have authority from Richmond to propose terms of Peace—that they were holding confidential interviews with leading Democrats from this side—that it was currently reported that terms of 'reconstruction' were propounded and considered between them—and that it was further reported that one of them (Mr. C. C. Clay) had agreed to address a letter to the Chicago Convention indicating terms of Peace and Reunion. So much I heard, (in common, I presume, with many others,) and it seemed to me desirable that, if such terms were proffered, the Government of the United States should have the first refusal of them. And I recollect that—in the first and much the longest letter which I addressed to the President on this subject—I roughly indicated certain bases of Peace and Reunion which I thought it would be expedient to offer to the Rebels in case their proffer to the Government should be—as I feared it would be—one that could not be accepted."—*Tribune*, August 5, 1864.

"There has been much loose talk of peace negotiations with Rebels. I never engaged in any, though it seems I was warranted in so doing. I did not cross the ferry till after Major Hay's arrival, and then only at his urgent request; and I had no correspondence with any Confederate, save with regard to their authority to bind their chiefs and their going to Washington. It was never my understanding that the vital conditions of peace were to be settled by me at Niagara.

"It seemed to me that after our simultaneous successes negotiation might wisely be trusted to finish the work; that all that was still needed was to make surely known to the Southern people that they could return to the Union on terms that they might now honorably and advantageously accept. In this conviction I tried repeatedly—and as well before as after the Niagara overture—to bring the belligerent parties responsibly face to face, so that they might earnestly try to restore peace to our blood-soaked country. (I have certainly understood that Mr. Raymond made similar efforts just after the Niagara failure, but without success,) and, bunglingly as the Niagara business was managed on our side, I know that its result had a salutary influence at the South."—*Tribune*, August 11, 1865.

"Mr. Greeley only 'rushed to Canada' when President Lincoln directed him to do so, and then sorely against his will. His 'cuddling with traitors' required a second urgent request from Major Hay, the President's secretary and special envoy. Up to the hour of Hay's arrival on the ground I had no interview, and only the most formal correspondence with any Rebels whatever. Their overture came to me unsolicited and unexpected. I forwarded it to the President, but made no response to its authors till directed to do so by Mr. Lincoln. It is a special lie that I 'implored' the President to offer \$400,000,000 for Peace, though I did suggest to him the wisdom of offering to pay that amount in case the Rebellion were given up and the Union restored, as a compensation for the slaves of LOYAL slave-owners, not of the Rebel States exclusively, but of ALL the Slave States."—*Tribune*, April 24, 1867.

What H. G. Knew about the Blairs' Peace Mission to Richmond.

"Our last dispatch from Washington states that Messrs. Francis P. Blair, (senior,) and his son, Montgomery, have gone to Richmond, and that it is understood that their errand is one of Peace—or, perhaps we should more accurately say, to see whether any termination of our National struggle is now attainable. We presume their mission is not in terms official; but it were absurd to pretend, considering who they are, and what are their personal relations to the President, that it is unauthorized.

"While we consider Richmond about the least hopeful point in the Confederacy at which to seek an acceptable Peace, and regret that the Messrs. Blairs had not proceeded, or offered to proceed, direct to Raleigh instead, and while we can scarcely encourage hopes of any immediate pacification as a result of this mission, we yet rejoice that it has departed, and are confident that its influences will be salutary and its ultimate consequences beneficent."—*Tribune*, January 2, 1865.

What H. G. Knew about Intervention by the Roman Catholics in Europe.

"We have at length obtained a clue to the European complot, wherefrom the Slaveholding Rebels are comforting themselves with hopes of powerful and speedy aid to their sinking cause. Its outline is as follows: At an early age of our great struggle Bishop Lynch, (Roman Catholic,) of Charleston, S. C., was dispatched by Jefferson Davis to Europe with a broad commission to search for sympathizers and allies, but with instructions to make Rome the focus of his operations. The Bishop has remained in Europe ever since, and has been zealously devoting himself to his important political duties. It was not difficult for him to convince the master spirits of European Reaction and Absolutism that the Slaveholder's Rebellion was identical in spirit and purpose with their own cause, and enlist their sympathies thereupon; but Bishop Lynch has gone further, and (whether with or without express warrant) assured the magnates of the Roman Catholic Church that its expansion and predominance, first in the confederacy, ultimately throughout this hemisphere, will be assured by the triumph of the Confederates. In deference to these representations a secret league of the Roman Catholic Powers—France, Spain, and Austria—under the guidance and with the express concurrence of the Pope, has, it is said, been formed, pledged to recognize the Confederacy on or immediately after the 4th of March next, under the pretext that the Union will thereafter consist of those States only which participated in the late Presidential election and in the choice of Members of the approaching Congress. It is added that the league contemplates other than moral support to the slaveholding rebels, but not (we judge) at the outset. It is just possible that the withdrawal of Spain from her luckless adventure in San Domingo has some connection with this new undertaking."—*Tribune*, January 30, 1865.

"Bishop Lynch, (R. C.) of Charleston, S. C., was an original, acrimonious, efficient, persistent pro-slavery rebel. He had a *Te Deum* celebrated in his cathedral on the reduction of Fort Sumter by the rebels in April, 1861. He went to Europe next Summer as an emissary of the Rebellion, and did his utmost to get the Pope to take the side of that Rebellion—*did* induce him to recognize Jeff. Davis as a potentate, which no other monarch openly did. Now that the Rebellion is crushed, the Bishop comes here and preaches in favor of mercy, lenity, magnanimity, &c., &c. The doctrine is good—we urged the same long before, but, really, we do not feel that Bishop Lynch can help it much. His 'record' is in the way."—*Tribune*, March 3, 1866.

What H. G. Knew about Gen. Butler's Treatment of the Rebels.

"Gen. Butler might not be safe in New Orleans, and he might be maliciously dealt with in Charlestown. It cannot be denied that he is extremely well hated by those who felt the force of his heavy and vigorous hand during the Rebellion, and who were compelled by him to maintain an outward obedience to the laws when obedience was most distasteful. It is not for nothing that they have nicknamed him 'the Beast.' Schoolboys have found a similar comfort when writhing under a deserved fustigation. That he is much hated by the higher class of Rebels, by the more honorable and intelligent of the Secessionists, we do not believe. They have the sense to comprehend that Gen. Butler did no more than his duty; they respect him for doing it vigorously, albeit they may have smarted under his vigor, and they would be ashamed to complain that he treated New Orleans very much as they would have treated Washington if it had fallen into their hands. Those who were half Rebels and half rogues entertain a different feeling; yet while they continue to believe that the fate of Mr. Lincoln was simply just, and that it would have been but fair to reduce New York to ashes by the hand of a midnight incendiary, they may well hold Gen. Butler in horror and in hatred. His reward has been the gratitude of all loyal men and the hatred of anarchists and of traitors. He may well be proud of the invectives which have been hurled against him. 'The one small service which he could render to England,' says Macaulay in his brilliant essay on Barère, 'was to hate her; and such as he was may all who hate her be.' The wrath of the unregenerate Secessionist is the crowning glory of Gen. Butler's life."—*Tribune*, January 27, 1868.

What H. G. Knew of the Death Struggles of the Confederacy.

"When a man is dying all his neighbors hasten to prescribe for him, and all of them to prescribe infallibly. So it is with the Confederacy. It has been given over by the regular doctors, and as the dew of death is upon its brow it should strive to emulate the immortal Cæsar and die with decency. But this is just what its nurses will not permit. They howl by the bedside and call Heaven to witness the virtues of their pills and powders, their potions and plasters. They make an incredible noise about this remedy and the other—they even try the efficacy of swearing, and are about as sensible in their incantations as a medicine man in the Gorilla country; but the fact remains that the patient is every moment getting short of wind, that forts are gone, that harbors are

gone, that territory is gone, that the army is gone, that the money is gone, that the navy is gone, that hope is gone, and that Richmond is—going! Under such circumstances smiles must be sickly and laughs distressingly hysterical. Why talk of 'dying in the last ditch,' when the Confederacy will soon have no last ditch left to die in? Davis may strive to throw the responsibility of prolonging for a little time this hopeless contest upon the epauletted shoulders of Lee, and that General may shift it over to a quaking and demoralized Congress; but the world and history will lay the blame, not upon individuals, but upon the State, which, after engaging in an unholy enterprise, wasted the life of a society, its wealth, and its peace in a passionate and hateful attempt to accomplish the impossible."—*Tribune*, March 29, 1865.

What H. G. Knew about the Triumph of the North over the South.

"Northern sagacity may be proud of the literal fulfillment of its various warnings. Its sturdy common sense has never been made so conspicuous. It foresaw, foretold, and has lived to be a witness. The reality has even exceeded the prediction. Vast armies have made a vaster desolation than friend or foe could have dreamed of. The great centres of Southern commerce are now silent as the Cities of the Plain. The world has ceased to know them as ports of entry. Her arrogant nabobs, who once flaunted in brocade, now flutter in rags. Her millions of banking capital are all gone. The drum-beat of each advancing army has been a summons to her bondsmen to up and be free. Slaves flee from masters, and masters from slaves, until it is doubtful which class of fugitives is the more numerous. Her debt has grown to be colossal, but without foundation. The collapse of the currency bubble is already upon her. The North, having never been the victims of calamities like these, can form no just conception of the misery that goes with them. But while her sagacity enabled her to foretell the doom of the South, it possessed the crowning merit of enabling her to shun a similar one for herself."—*Tribune*, January 27, 1864.

What H. G. Knew of General Grant's Conquest of Peace.

"It is characteristic of General Grant that having, by dint of five days' hard fighting, driven the enemy out of the tremendous works surrounding his capital, he stopped not one single moment to enjoy the parade of an entrance into Richmond, but, with an unremitting energy, pushed after Lee as well when he was a fugitive as when he madly clung to his defences. On Sunday night Lee fled. On Monday morning Grant's columns were once more in motion, and along the banks of the Appomattox began a race with the Rebels for the Danville road."—*Tribune*, April 4, 1865.

"There is nothing in history like this campaign of Grant's. It began a year ago. 'I shall fight on this line,' he said, 'if it takes all Summer.' It took all Summer and all Winter, but he never relaxed for a moment his clutch on Lee and the Rebellion. He 'had him where he wanted him' all the time. He hurled him from the Rapidan; he shut him up in Richmond, and bound him there with chains that he could not break, except by self-destruction. He broke them at last, but Grant threw himself with all his strength upon the flying Rebel. Escape was impossible from that impetuous pursuit, from that masterly generalship. It was the hare and the hounds; the lion and his prey; the strong man and the child; there was no escape. **LEE SURRENDERED, AND THE REBELLION IS ENDED.**"—*Tribune*, April 10, 1865.

What H. G. Knew about Gen. Grant's Terms of Surrender.

"We do firmly believe that Gen. Grant was as wise as he was generous in granting such liberal terms to the remnant of General Lee's army on condition of its laying down its arms. We do not doubt that he did so with and by the advice of President Lincoln, who, we are confident, will proceed in the line of magnanimous policy thus indicated, if not overruled by bad advisers and deterred by what he mistakes for public opinion. For if we allow Lee, Wise, Gordon, Pickett, Early, Ruggles, Ould, &c., &c., upon their surrender to go in safety to their homes, with a pledge that they shall there remain 'undisturbed' so long as they shall continue to deport themselves loyally and quietly, how can you fail to treat with equal lenity those who may hereafter surrender? If these ought not to be tried and punished, who should be? Nay, with what show of fairness can you put others on trial for their lives, yet allow these to go free."—*Tribune*, April 13, 1865.

"Gen. Grant we esteem by no means a great man, nor even a very great General, yet he has, in every position he has filled, evinced a modest good sense, a practical, unostentatious sagacity, which have justly won for him a large measure of public confidence. He is not by training a statesman, yet his negotiations with Gen. Lee and the

terms of capitulation conceded by him at Appomattox evince a wisdom and breadth of view which few among our statesmen could have equaled, and none of them has surpassed. We do profoundly honor and esteem him that he has never uttered one syllable that sounded of exultation over the defeated Rebels, or called down vengeance on their heads. The blood-and-thunder policy of execution and confiscation, which we intensely loathe, has had no more effective opponent than this taciturn, reticent, first soldier of the Union."—*Tribune*, November 7, 1867.

What H. G. Knew about Peace in June, 1867.

^ "‘Let us have peace.’ With these words Gen. Grant, in his letter of acceptance, summed up the political situation with the same unconscious felicity as when, before Spottsylvania-Court House, in 1864, he epitomized the military *status* in the electric sentence, ‘I propose to fight it out on this line if it takes all Summer.’ Victory, decisive and complete, was then the Nation’s prime requirement—now it is Peace, true, real, lasting Peace. That Peace the Democratic party will not, cannot give, because it proclaims and builds upon an eternal, implacable antagonism of Race—because it holds Black and brown men created to be vassals, if not the chattels of white men. True Democracy insists on the Equal Rights of Men; that spurious, sham Democracy which opposes Grant and Colfax asserts that ‘This is a White Man’s government, wherein none but Whites have any natural right to vote or be voted for. That party, if successful next Fall, is bound to do its utmost to divest of the right of Suffrage the Three Millions of our countrymen enfranchised by the Reconstruction acts, and remand them to the state of serfdom wherein their brethren in Maryland, Kentucky, and other Democratic States, now are. This is to incite a new War of Races—to invoke new horrors like those of San Domingo, where Emancipation was peacefully, legally, joyously effected, but Re-enslavement, though never consummated, whelmed the whole island in conflagration and massacre. Give us Peace!’—*Tribune*, June 8, 1868.

What H. G. Knew about Gen. Grant’s Prosecution of the War.

X “From the beginning to the end of that struggle Ulysses S. Grant rose through every grade known to our service. A poor, obscure, friendless, private citizen, he volunteered at the outset and was chosen captain of a company. He was soon made Adjutant, then Colonel, then Brigadier-General, then Major-General, then Lieutenant-General; finally General-in-chief. Yet nobody ever heard of his asking for a better post. In every case of his promotion he took the position wherein he was wanted—no one ever heard of his wanting a better one than he already had. ‘Friend, come up higher,’ was the mandate addressed to this lowly servant of the Republic—not that he wanted promotion, but that the country sorely needed the right man in the right place. He favored no ‘policy’ but the crushing out of the Rebellion. He had no conception of duty that led him to regard the Federal Executive with distrust or disfavor. In short, Grant quietly received his orders, and to the extent of his ability, executed them. It will be the fault of the People if this species of generalship is not more common hereafter.”—*Tribune*, July 22, 1868:

X *What H. G. Knew about the first Triumph of Liberty, Justice, and Peace.*

“The election of Grant secures the ascendancy of LIBERTY, JUSTICE, and PEACE. It is the Appomattox of our civil conflict. It insures that ours shall be henceforth a land of equal rights and equal laws. It makes our recent history coherent and logical. It demonstrates that the discomfiture of the Rebellion was no blunder and no accident, but the triumph of principle and an added proof that God reigns.”—*Tribune*, August 15, 1868.

What H. C. Knew about the Confederate Soldiers.

^ “The fires of factions must soon go out for want of fuel. Every day will diminish the number of savage memories and of rampant recollections. The question of Secession has had a sanguinary adjudication, and every hour will lessen this brood of brawling dissenters from the verdict of war. They will be killed in duels. They will be slaughtered in bar-rooms. They will be locked up in penitentiaries. They will talk till nobody hears, and prophesy until nobody heeds them. They will fade gradually away as a class, simply because as a class the regenerated society of the South has no use for them, and will care no more for their opinion of war than for their opinion of Mary, Queen of Scots.”—*Tribune*, January 2, 1869.

What H. G. Knew about Gen. Robert E. Lee.

“Take the case of Lee. If we believe in constructive treason, or admitted the popular doctrine that rebellion should be punished by hanging, we should take Gen. Lee as a conspicuous

example. Of all the Rebels, civil and military, he was perhaps the most gifted, the most dangerous, and the most wanton. As a soldier he carried the confidence of his chief to the camp of the Rebellion, and aided in swaying Virginia into the war without cause or provocation. Men rebelled from fanaticism, ignorance, devotion to Slavery. Gen. Lee was a Rebel from ambition.

"Peace brought political and personal duties to all of us. To Robert E. Lee it brought a duty of honor. He possessed great influence with the Southern Rebels. He knew how greatly he had sinned and with what magnanimity he had been protected by Gen. Grant. We are told that when he saw the generosity of Grant to his shattered army, he was 'overcome with emotion'—that he was profuse with thanks. Since that tearful day, however, he has been silent. He knew what the welfare of the South demanded—that amnesty was at hand if suffrage were given—that the North merely wanted justice secured to the race it had freed—to throw down every barrier, and unite every interest in the harmony of a restored Union. He saw the Cobbs and Hills of the South, the men who had been warriors in peace and citizens in war, fermenting discord and bitterly assailing every plan of reconstruction. He saw these cowardly myrmidons of hatred filling the South, like many evil spirits. Like the witches in Macbeth, they have worked their charms—to a dismal, fatal end—and infected the very air with their 'hell broth, boil, and bubble.' Like the Centaurs in Dante's Hell, their aim seems ever to drive back the race so long at their mercy into the dark river of blood. See what they have made the South! Emigration is arrested—capital shrinks from her cities and seaports—commerce seeks less congenial but more secure climes—credit is dead—her vast resources are neglected—there is no industry, no enterprise, no national progress, no public spirit—nothing but political chaos and social anxiety. The men whose energy would bless the South are banished, while those whose industry would make her fields to blossom as the rose are held in cruel and dreary subjection. This has come because her people have listened to prophets as false as Johnson and Toombs and Wise, and because the men whose voices should have been commanding—men like Lee and his generals—have been either silently or sullenly antagonistic. Lee, especially, has had the happiness of great States at his bidding, and he has chosen to remain neutral, to shrink from duty and responsibility behind the groves of his Lexington Academy. Instead of acting the part of Washington, to which he is said to aspire, he has been merely the Turveydrop Grandson of the South. The people he led to ruin have looked for three years for leadership and action. He has merely given them deportment and phrases."—*Tribune*, August 31, 1868.

What H. G. Knew about President Johnson's Amnesty Policy.

"It is said that Mr. Johnson is about to publish a proclamation of Amnesty, and the probabilities are that it will be pretty near universal in its terms. But can the President make such an offer in virtue of the powers vested in him by the Constitution, and without the intervention of Congress? We think it very clear that he cannot. The Constitution gives him authority to 'grant reprieves and pardons for offences against the United States.' Now a pardon and an amnesty are two very different things. A pardon is an act of grace exempting a person from penalties which he has incurred under the law. Amnesty is defined as 'an act of the sovereign power, the object of which is to efface and cause to be forgotten a crime or misdemeanor.' Amnesty is abolition of the offence. Pardon is remission of the penalty. The sovereign power of this nation is not the President, but the people. The representative of the people is not Andrew Johnson, but the National Congress. The President may pardon individual offenders, but the Constitution gives him no authority to declare a general amnesty. If it did, he might nullify every act of legislation to the violation of which any penalty is affixed, and virtually exercise an absolute veto over many of the most important proceedings of Congress. This proposed proclamation, therefore, can only be regarded as the boldest defiance of the people which the President has yet uttered. He assumes to exercise a power which was only granted him for a time, and then deliberately taken away. It is better for him to understand that when the people, through their representatives, took away that temporary authority, they meant to keep it in their own hands, and there they will keep it, Johnson, Bineley, and all the rest of the nullifiers to the contrary notwithstanding."—*Tribune*, September 5, 1867.

What H. G. Knew about How the South Should be Treated.

"We can surrender to National restoration and fraternity everything but Good Faith. We can regard and treat the Rebels as our countrymen, provided they will regard and treat the steadfast loyalists in like manner. We stand ready and eager to forgive them for having been Rebels if they will forgive Three or Four millions of Unionists for having been born Black. There are some who say, 'Let us treat the South with generous confidence.' Certainly; but not at the expense of honor and good faith. If you were intrusted by a friend with his money, and he should ask you for it, you would not expect him to be satisfied with the answer, 'I gave it to your enemy, in order to evince my confidence in him.' 'Sir,' he would naturally rejoin, 'it was my business to evince confidence in the disposal of my money; you should have given something that was your own.'"—*Tribune*, February 22, 1866.

WHAT HORACE GREELEY KNOWS

ABOUT

The Rise and Fall, the Arrest and the Imprisonment, the Trial and the Release on Bail, of Jefferson Davis, &c., &c., &c., &c.

What H. G. Knew about Jefferson Davis in June, 1854.

"Jefferson Davis is Secretary of War. So rank, indeed, is his avowed hatred to the Union that he resigned his seat in the United States Senate, preparatory to appearing as one of the leaders in the formation of 'Mr. Calhoun's Southern Republic.' In a speech at Natchez, Miss., he spoke of the contemplated Disunion, and, with all the explanatory eloquence he is master of, incited rebellion against the Federal authorities. Over his own signature he declared himself in favor of 'Armed resistance and insurrection' rather than slavish submission to the Federal laws, (the Compromise measures,) and suggested the establishment in the South of manufactories of arms and ammunition, as the most efficient preparation for the final alternative—Separation. Col. Davis counseled with Gen. Quitman, and indorsed that gentleman's Secession message, and sympathized with Quitman's confederates in their refusal to raise the stars and stripes over the State Capitol of Mississippi. Soulé finds his home in France, and could apply the knife to the throat of his adopted Country without committing matricide; but Davis is native-born, educated at the expense of the nation, a hero of Buena Vista, and yet, while suffering from the unhealed wounds obtained in that bloody but glorious field, he was organizing treason in the State of Mississippi and counseling armed resistance to the Federal Government. There cannot be any love for the Union in his composition, for the struggle of the brave men who fell at Angostura and in his sight, in defence of the Stars and Stripes, could not endear that ensign to his memory and sanctify its mission to his heart—a moral degradation that finds no parallel in history."—*Tribune*, June 19, 1854.

What H. G. Knew about Jefferson Davis in January, 1865.

"The telegraph announces the election to the Senate of the United States of Jefferson Davis, at present Secretary of War. Unluckily the vacancy he is chosen to fill does not occur till a year from next March. It is a great pity he could not go into the Senate immediately. In that body he would doubtless do all the mischief he could; but the Senate is so 'valorous' already, that even a Jeff. Davis stirred in would not add much to the villainy of the compound. Of the Cabinet he is a large part—we might say the largest part; and he adds to it the ingredient of boldness which none of the other members have. It is he, doubtless, who has spirited up the President to threaten to back up the Missouri Border-Ruffians by the regular army of the United States. Shooting Indians is delightful to some people; but shooting Free-State immigrants to Kansas would be still more so."—*Tribune*, January 26, 1865.

What H. G. Knew about Jefferson Davis in November, 1858.

"The Hon. Jefferson Davis has just made a most warlike speech to the warlike citizens of a warlike town, called by the warlike name of Jackson, in the warlike State of Mississippi—which is published in that military and martial newspaper, *The Daily Mississippian*—calling his fellow-citizens to rally to 'the harvest home of death.' Mr. Jefferson Davis turns up his magnificent nose at 'resolutions,' and treats Legislatures with as much contempt as Napoleon treated the Directory. Mr. Jefferson Davis is for trying what virtue there may be in guns, drums, fifes, powder, ball, and swords, both of the small and broad description. He calls upon the State to establish an 'armory' in which to grind the old swords and tinker the old guns now in possession of Mississippi, in which 'to manufacture on a limited scale new arms, including cannon and their carriages'—in which to 'cast shot and shell'—in which to prepare 'fixed ammunition,' wherewithal, we suppose, to 'fix' the enemy. In this way, this martial Colonel proposes to solve a 'problem,' which he declares is a 'physical' one, not to be solved by 'mere resolutions.' This ferocious Colonel, however, can be soft as well as savage. He has an affection—which we may almost call amorous for the American flag. He says he has upheld it upon fields where, if he had fallen, 'it would have been his winding sheet;' he has gazed upon it in foreign countries, and noticed that as he looked upon it the pulsations of his heart beat quicker; its stripes he honors, its constellation he admits to be brilliant. He particularly

glories in the private and personal Star of Mississippi. But suddenly all his tenderness forsakes him, and he cries out in ferocious tones that sooner than see that Star dimmed—sooner than see it degraded—we will 'tear it from its place'—he will 'set it even on the perilous ridge of battle as a sign round which Mississippi's best and bravest should gather to the harvest home of death.' From this elevated position Jefferson sinks again to tenderness. The Mars of Mississippi could not close without paying his devoirs to 'gentle beauty;' and when we abandoned the further perusal of his speech—the reading faculty having broken down—he was complying like a dancing master. From this we fear that the wholesome war with which he threatened us will never be declared—that Mississippi will never grind the old swords and prepare the 'fixed ammunition,' and that Mr. Jefferson Davis having, Cæsar-like, been captivated by the Cleopatras of Mississippi, will sink into effeminate habits, and neither be shot nor hung, whereby justice, as usual, will be cheated."—*Tribune, November 24, 1858.*

What H. G. Knew about Jefferson Davis in June, 1860.

"Mr. Davis is one of the Contingent Candidates of the bogus Democracy for President. Of course he has to be more guarded in his utterances than those whose time has passed by for that honor, or who know it will never come. When one of either of these classes gets the floor, we have unbounded extravagance of assertion and declamation. They scold and rant, and bluster and threaten, and throw off gas in windy explosions at a prodigious rate. The numerous examples of this sort of thing in the House, that have been constantly occurring ever since the assembling of Congress, have sufficiently illustrated the factious temper and traitorous declamation of Southern Democrats. It is an object to know if any of the gentlemen who stand in the category of possible Candidates for the Charleston nomination are ready to back these declarations. Mr. Davis, in his answer, at first was quite explicit in saying that if a moderate Republican, like Mr. Foot of Vermont, for example, should be chosen by the Republicans, he would not regard it as a reason for secession. But he afterward qualified the admission, as he was pressed by Mr. Fessenden, so as finally to leave his position open to a double interpretation. As his exposition stood at the close, his disunion-threatening friends could claim him to be on their side: and yet it could be proved to the anti-disunion masses of the Free States, on his statement, that he was no kind of a disunionist whatever on the point in question. The real truth of the matter is that nothing is meant by all the blustering and bullying on the question, except to try to intimidate the North from voting as the masses of the people are inclined to vote. Mr. Davis came very near pricking the whole bubble, by his frank admission made at the start. But finding it would not do to leave his more open-mouthed supporters and Confederates so suddenly in the lurch, he laboriously and smokily qualified his original expression."—*Tribune, January 31, 1860.*

What H. G. Knew about Jefferson Davis in April, 1860.

"Public sentiment proclaims that the most arrogant man in the United States Senate is Jefferson Davis. Nor does there seem to be much doubt that in debate he is the most insolent and insufferable. Davis was effectually put down in the Senate Chamber on Thursday last, by Mr. Wilson, of Massachusetts, during a debate concerning the schools in the District of Columbia. A bill being pending to levy taxes to support these schools, Senator Durkee moved an amendment providing that all persons who paid taxes should have the right to send their children to the schools. In other words, that those negro parents who were taxed to support the schools should be entitled to have their offspring instructed therein. Mr. Davis not only opposed the amendment, but insisted that it was offered as an intentional insult to the slaveholding side of the Chamber. Mr. Wilson argued in favor of educating all the children in the District. Davis replied with rare insolence and effrontery, and was most offensively personal toward Wilson, taunting him impliedly with being no gentleman because he offered insults to his associates in the Senate, and then would not give them the 'satisfaction which one gentleman has the right to demand of another.' The reply of the Massachusetts Senator was so pungent and powerful, so defiant and determined, that it extorted a qualified disclaimer and apology from the Mississippian on the spot."—*Tribune, April 14, 1860.*

What H. G. Knew about the plans of Jefferson Davis in February, 1861.

"Mr. Jefferson Davis, in a speech made since his election to the Presidency of the 'Confederate States of America,' has declared that if civil war shall result from the present commotions, the battle will be fought on Northern soil, because the superior prowess and military habits of the slaveholders will enable them to invade and overrun the Free States. This is, of course, a mere piece of bravado, put forth for political effect at the North and for the encouragement of his own followers. Mr. Davis is a graduate of West Point, and no man can have passed through the discipline and the course of instruction of that institution without acquiring a sufficient amount of historical knowledge and of military science to be aware that no nation or state with an accessible seaboard can venture on offensive operations against an enemy who commands the sea. We do not suppose that any warlike movements except such as are necessary to recover the property of the United States will be required from the Government. But if a serious war, now or at any future period, should unfortunately be waged

between the North and the South, it would only be necessary for the Government of the North to concentrate at New York a small fleet of sea-going steamers and an army of 20,000 or 30,000 men to hold the South in perpetual check. Not a man would be sent northward from any of the Atlantic or Gulf Slave States while they were manacled at home by such a force, ready in a few days' sail to descend upon their coast, without warning, and without the possibility of being met at all points by an adequate resisting force. The maritime supremacy of the United States will be of incalculable value if we are forced into a war with the rebels. They never can have a navy, for even if they could procure ships they could not man them, for seamen cannot, like soldiers, be extemporized. They must grow naturally from the habits and tendencies of the people. Those who command the sea in this age of steam have the immense advantage that they can transport troops with ease and expedition to any point on a hostile coast, and can keep an entire seaboard in terror by the uncertainty which envelops the movements and the destination of a fleet upon the high seas. All the military forces that the rebel States can possibly bring into the field will be fully occupied in looking after their own coasts. They will have none to spare for the invasion of the North. The United States Government, on the other hand, can, with a very moderate naval and military force at its disposal, carry on as great a war as we are likely to see, even in the worst extremity."—*Tribune*, February 14, 1861.

"Mr. Jefferson Davis, the President elect of that modern Barataria, the 'Confederate States of America,' made a speech to his 'Fellow-Citizens and Brethren' at Montgomery, on Saturday night last, which had the very great merit of being brief and explicit. Among other comforting declarations which President Davis made to his 'brethren' was this: we have nothing to fear at home, because at home we have homogeneity.' By 'home' he meant, of course, the soil of the six Seceding States. But what sort of a homogeneity can this new Confederacy boast of? One half the population is not only of a wholly different race from the other, but of a different color, of an inherent, organic, and constitutional antagonism, so that the two races not only fear each other, but must of necessity hate each other. The homogeneity is that which exists between those who suffer wrong and those who inflict the suffering, and if the 'brethren' of the Confederate States have no better guaranty for an absolution from fear than that of homogeneity, they will be in as shaky and nervous a condition as Mr. Buchanan in his last message to Congress represented the whole South to be."—*Tribune*, February 19, 1861.

What H. G. advised Jefferson Davis in May, 1861.

"We would respectfully suggest to H. E. Jefferson Davis that after he has finished 'effectuating a loan' he should proceed to curb, restrain, mitigate, and even silence the Bards of the Confederacy. We do not mean our dear Leatherwood, who is the best of the class, but the others whose poetry is principally a cross between Lucy Long and Doctor Watts. 'Good Whisky,' said a Western Judge, in charging a jury, 'is favorable, as the Court knows from personal experience, to health and longevity; but for such a miserable article as this the plaintiff cannot recover.' Good poetry, say we, is favorable to revolutions and even rebellions; but these Southern songs, at least such of them as have greeted our admiring eye, can only make the Confederacy ludicrous. Where's Simms? Why slumbers his lofty lyre? Where's Paul Hayne, who used to come all the way to wicked Boston for a publisher? Where's—but, really we cannot think of anybody else.

"Lord Macaulay went to the ballad treasures of England with great success for the illustration of manners and of popular feeling. What a figure the Confederacy will cut when future historians unearth the ballads! Men will say: These verses are vainglorious, vulgar, illiterate, coarse, revengeful, worthy of second-class, unworthy of first-class savages. This will not be the verdict of any man, but of criticism itself, from the judgment of which there can be no appeal. And for criticism there will be ample material. We have in our possession a tolerable range of collection of these Southern 'poems,' carefully culled and unmistakably identified; and when it passes from our hands it shall go where it will be preserved, and where, one hundred years hence, it will be read by antiquarians, historians, and philosophers. Whether we conquer or are conquered, we mean that posterity shall know, at least, who wrote the best poetry. The Bancroft of the twentieth century shall smile upon Leatherwood through his spectacles, and the Clarendon of this rebellion shall grin at the slaveholding bards. Nothing but the capture *vi et armis* of our escriptive can prevent this. Therefore, Jefferson, we advise you to officially snub your strident strummers!"—*Tribune*, May 31, 1861.

What H. G. Knew about negotiations with Jeff. Davis in July, 1861.

"Judge Campbell's disclosure proves how little faith can be reposed in the announcement from the State Department respecting negotiations with Southern traitors. The flat contradiction of the Draper dispatch seems to have suggested greater ambiguity in future, and for hiding the truth this second dispatch is a gem. While seeming to contradict the report, the Secretary neither affirms nor denies it. Why this ambiguity? The times require plain truth and fair dealing, with the public by all Government officials. Neither Punic faith nor Greek duplicity are suited to the American people, or becoming to their officials. In respect to dealings with the enemy, and whatever concerns the peace and preservation of the Republic, they want the

truth, the whole truth, and, above all, nothing but the truth. Silence they will respect, but dissembling will call forth stern rebuke. What, then, is the truth about this matter? The public have a right to know, in plain and distinct terms, whether any proposition for peace or compromise has been received by the President or Secretary of State from Jeff. Davis, and what the administration are doing about it. They want plain English, and no diplomatic tricks."—*Tribune*, July 2, 1861.

What H. G. Knew about Jeff. Davis's Proclamation in November, 1861.

"Jeff. Davis in his message talks of his war as purely defensive, when of the seven conflicts of which he boasts as 'glorious victories,' three were fought on the soil of a State still adhering to the Union. He boasts of abundant harvests and increased ability to prosecute the war, when the Prices Current of the cities under his sway show that all the comforts and most of the absolute necessities of life are so dear that the poor must be at the door of starvation. He talks of an unbroken series of Confederate triumphs, but is careful not to mention Hatteras nor Port Royal. He vaunts the good condition of his finances, but (for a wonder) does not assert the success of his Cotton Loan. He proclaims that the United States had an army to begin the war with, while the Confederates had to create theirs; when Beauregard, both Johnstons, Lee, Magruder, Twiggs, and nearly every other officer who has won any distinction in his armies, were in the Federal service until they deserted it for him. We cannot close without thanking the Mokanna of this gigantic imposture for so frankly and thoroughly repelling every suggestion of settlement by compromise. We overlook his tissue of lies concerning the barbarous and bloodthirsty spirit in which this war has been waged by the Unionists, in consideration of the statement imbedded in them that he will have Disunion or utter discomfiture—that 'for the independence we have asserted we will accept no alternative.' That puts an end to compromises and compromisers. The Republic may possibly be dismembered. It cannot be dishonored by making concessions of vital principle to the traitors who have plotted its downfall. So let the leader and oracle of the caltiffs who robbed the Nation by wholesale of her forts, arsenals, navy-yards, armories, mints, and sub-treasuries, before a shot was fired, and then inaugurated war by the bombardment of Fort Sumter, complain that some of his satellites have been caught and caged, and that President Lincoln has been 'making war without the assent of Congress,' (when he had no choice left between making war and making off)—the Republic will thank its Government for every manifestation of vigor in defence of its integrity and rightful authority which the head traitor arraigns, and only regrets that he has no more such to complain of."—*Tribune*, November 26, 1861.

What H. G. Knew about the Northern allies of Jefferson Davis in January, 1862.

"It is not often that men visibly and palpably get their deserts in the very hour of their sin, but there is a class who are now enjoying such a dispensation. They are the Yankees who, having married Southern plantations or otherwise helped themselves to a slice of the profits of slave-driving, are now deep in the Jeff. Davis rebellion. These miscreant renegades can hardly open one of the wretched sheets which furnish the whole available current literature of Secession without reading therein what mean, sordid, grovelling, hypocritical, cowardly, low-lived villains the Yankees are, and how justly they are despised, detested, loathed at the South. And not one of them can look in a mirror without seeing the original from which this revolting picture was painted. Must they not feel accursed of Man and forsaken by God?"—*Tribune*, January 14, 1862.

What H. G. Knew about the Politics of Jefferson Davis in February, 1862.

"Now, can any man believe, in view of these notorious, threadbare facts, that Jefferson Davis considers a State really authorized and at liberty to dissolve at pleasure the bonds which attach her to the American Union? Did he intend to be understood, when he received a thorough education at the expense of the Union, that his duties to that Union would at any moment be terminated by the assumed withdrawal therefrom of the State in which he resided? When he took as a Senator the solemn oath of fidelity to the Federal Constitution, did he understand, and desire others to understand, that he held himself bound thereby only until his State should see fit to pass an act of Secession? Does he not well know that no such qualified and temporary allegiance would have been accepted by his fellow-Senators and the Country? 'The tyranny of an unbridled majority' Jeff. thinks very odious. If so, how much better is that of a lean minority? A faction, strong neither in character, in talent nor in numbers, using the political power of Slavery as their fulcrum, have virtually ruled this Nation for years. Having ceased to rule, they have resolved to divide and ruin it. The tone of Mr. Davis's Inaugural argues that their prospect of success is not flattering, even when viewed with partial eyes. When they succeed—and Mr. Davis's last hope seems to be that the Union will run out of friends before it can complete the subjugation of his dupes—we will thank him to let us know."—*Tribune*, February 26, 1862.

What H. G. Knew about the Actual Condition of the Confederacy in December, 1862.

"We must do the Confederate mourners the justice to say that a great deal of wrath is mixed up with their wailing, and that their pluck is really more inexhaustible than their hen-coops. Whenever they have occasion to bewail the abduction of some patriot's cow, they invariably call upon their serried cohorts to redress the slaughter of the animal. When some Rebel's house is visited by a bomb, to the serious derangement of the furniture, these newspaper warriors exhort the countless millions of the Confederacy to rush promptly to the rescue? It seems just a little odd that before these sufferers plunged headlong into hot water, they should not have considered their ability to bear the predestinate blisters without bawling. They had a choice between peace and war, plenty and starvation, comfort and squalor. Their cows might still have grazed at pleasure, and Sammy Houston might have remained prattling under his own vine and fig-tree. The slightest common sense might have told these rash folks that our Government would hardly submit to a repudiation of its authority without an effort to maintain it. No method was left us but the military; we had no resource but war; and with war came slaughter, burning, forage, the sorrows of Sammy Houston, and the sway of the ogre Butler. School-boys do not like to be birched, but it does not follow that the school-master who administers wholesome castigation is a ruffian. The Secessionists are having the dance for which they have so long been itching—why do they howl so dismally when called upon to pay the piper? There are two ways in which outside observers may regard these traitors. Words are cheap, and plenty of small-beer poetry can be pumped up from the butts of benevolence. It is easy to say of these Rebels: 'Poor victims of despotism! they are fighting for their roof-trees, and hearth-stones, and altars, for their beautiful wives, their promising children, their ancestral acres, their lovely cities—and for these they endure hunger, cold, raggedness; and death itself!' This sounds well, but what does it all amount to? Great rascals may have roof-trees, and hearth-stones, and altars, and beautiful wives, and promising children, and ancestral acres, and lovely cities, and may suffer, to preserve them, hunger, cold, raggedness, death itself! Bengal tigers have dens, and cubs, and bones to fight for, but nobody laments the death of these creatures when arrested in a foraging expedition; and, to do them justice, they never draw their handkerchiefs and begin to cry when fate and Gordon Cumming overtake them. Men who ask for the world's sympathy should first show that they deserve it. This is precisely what the Confederates have never been able to do. Could they have found a single substantial injury upon which to mount themselves, they would have had foreign friends enough long ago. It is because they have no cause that they can get no co-operation."—*Tribune, December, 5, 1862.*

What H. G. Knew about the Demoralization of Jefferson Davis in January, 1863.

"Jeff. Davis is growing 'fearfully demoralized.' He used to be noted for reticence, but of late he makes a great many speeches. A certain degree of dignity, purity of style, and moderation of statement used to characterize his public utterances; but these late speeches are full of the baldest demagoguery and the cheapest clap-trap. A grog-shop orator or cross-roads' politician ought to be ashamed of them. Some men are excusable through ignorance when they prate about our disregard of the usages of civilized warfare; but Mr. Jeff. Davis knows better. He knows perfectly well that no war in history was ever conducted as magnanimously and leniently toward non-combatants as this has been by our Government. He knows that no people ever suffered as little from the presence of armies to which they were intensely hostile as the people of the South, in districts we have conquered, have suffered from us. He knows perfectly well what war inevitably means and brings; yet he makes sensational speeches over the robbery of hen-roosts and the burning of fence rails in an enemy's country, and talks as if 'the usages of civilized warfare' required us to hunt the negroes of our deadly enemies, and give all the people of the South complete new suits of clothes and fifty dollars specie! And he is the chief of the people who shot our helpless, scalped marines, struggling for life in White River; who made drinking cups and finger rings of the skulls and bones of our dead soldiers at Bull Run; who have shot scores of prisoners in Missouri, in Mississippi, and even in Richmond; who urged through their leading journals the assassination of Butler in New Orleans, hoped for the assassination of President Lincoln before his inauguration, and who are eternally talking about raising the black flag and hanging or shooting officers captured in battle."—*Tribune, January 10, 1863.*

What H. G. Knew about Jefferson Davis as the Leader of the Insurrection in 1863.

"Jefferson Davis is the leader of a Conspiracy, of an insurrection for the overthrow of that Government which not even he denies to have been constitutionally established, which had not and could not have done one act against any right, real or alleged, of the insurrectionary States, when the Rebellion was fanned into flame and the Cotton States precipitated into revolution, in pursuance of a scheme conceived thirty years before and steadily pursued meanwhile by men who had repeatedly sworn to support the Government they were persistently undermining, and who have since crowned a long series of crimes—of theft, and perjury, and lurking treason—by open rebellion and armed resistance to law, and by murders only equalled in number by the unprovoked barbarity of each. Insurrection against Free Government is a

claim to the sympathy and admiration of mankind; but insurrection against Slavery and in behalf of Freedom and Free Government exposes our country to detestation and our officers to cold-blooded assassination."—*Tribune*, January 19, 1863.

What H. G. Knew about the Religious Views of Jefferson Davis in 1863.

"Mr. Davis's continual resorts to religion indicate something of the straits of a condemned malefactor, who, when he hears the carpenter at work upon the gallows, concludes to send for the chaplain. The Confederate President has issued another Proclamation for a Public Fast in his dominions, which, considering the condition of the flesh-pots in those demesnes, strikes us as just a little superogatory.

"There are scrupulous persons who might object to the Prayers of Rebels as, to a certain extent, blasphemous. But we do not. Let them pray. The pirates of Tripoli and Algiers pray. The Cannibals of Sumatra pray. The greasy and mud-smeared savages of Central Africa pray. There is said to be no heathen without a religion—all the other Heathens pray, and pray why should not the Confederates?"—*Tribune*, March 11, 1863.

What H. G. Knew about the Grief of Jefferson Davis in 1864.

"Alexander wept for a new world to conquer. Mr. Jefferson Davis lets roll the river of the eye because Bragg has been beaten at Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge. So we are assured by the Richmond correspondent of *The Mobile Advertiser*. The Dictator of the Confederacy in tears, with *The Richmond Enquirer* crying to keep him company, presents about the most dismal spectacle which the world has witnessed since Belisarius carried about his hat, and Caius Marius stumbled among the rocky ruins of Carthage. But tears are said to be contagious. Unless Mr. Davis sets a better example we shall soon have the whole Confederate army roaring in regiments and blubbering by battalions. This will be a disappointment to amateur admirers of indomitable pluck. We have, innumerable times, been told that the Rebels would die, hang, starve, freeze, burn their houses, sow their fields with salt, kill their wives and children, and even emancipate their slaves, rather than bend before the barbarous Yankees—and here we have the ferocious leader of these ferocious martyrs fingering his pink eyes, and allowing the fugitive tears to chase each other down his patrician nose. It is a pretty condition of affairs, indeed, when a purveyor of intelligence in Richmond thinks it necessary to telegraph or write to Mobile that the stern chief of the fallen spirits is then and there crying! The Devil himself, the great proto-rebel, cursed, swore, blasphemed beautifully, desperately struggled, and made red-hot speeches of uncommon length, when he found himself and his fellow-fiends in the hottest of places, but it is nowhere recorded that he pulled out his pocket handkerchief and found relief in a fit of weeping. It may be consolatory to the discomfited Bragg to hear that Davis sobbed over the catastrophe of Missionary Ridge, but most Generals would have preferred the reinforcement of a few regiments. We have only to advise the pseudo-President to husband his lachrymal resources, unless, indeed, he fancies that his coming misfortunes will be too great to admit of other than the driest kind of agony."—*Tribune*, January 12, 1864.

"Jeff. Davis has just put forth a fresh manifesto to the dupes he is impoverishing, starving, and virtually killing, in the course of a Message to his Congress, dated May 2.

"The bloody-minded villain knows every word of this to be false as though it came direct from the Father of Lies; knows that our Government has been hard at work all Winter to effect the exchange he professes to desire, and has been baffled by his persistent determination *not* to exchange, and his repeated refusals to give man for man so long as he had one of our men to give."—*Tribune*, May 13, 1864.

What H. G. knew about the Arrest of Davis Disguised as a Woman.

"Jefferson Davis is a prisoner of the Government. He surrendered under no capitulation but his own, which, he being isolated, disguised in one of his wife's dresses, and directly within range of several troopers' revolvers, was too sudden to be otherwise than unconditional. Being a prisoner, we trust that he will be treated as a prisoner under the protection of the dignity and honor of a self-respecting people. As we are officially assured that he is proved to be incriminated in the plot which culminated in the murder of President Lincoln, we trust he is to be indicted, arraigned, and tried for that horrid crime against our country and every part of it. We hope he may have a fair, open, searching trial, like any other malefactor, and if convicted we trust he will be treated just like any other. We have no faith in killing men in cold blood, or in hot blood either, unless when (as in battle) they obstinately refuse to get out of the way; but we neither expect nor desire that the execution or non-execution of the laws shall depend on their accordance or disagreement with our convictions of sound policy. But let all things be done decently and in order."—*Tribune*, May 15, 1865.

What H. G. Knew about the Trial of Jefferson Davis in March, 1865.

"It is now generally proclaimed that Jefferson Davis is to be arraigned and tried for treason rather than for assassination, and that to this end a true bill has been found against him by the

Grand Jury of Washington City on information lodged by the Government. We reiterate, therefore, our suggestion that the Chief Justice should preside at this trial, and that all the questions properly involved in the issue shall be raised and formally adjudicated. Jefferson Davis in our view, and in that of the Government and loyal people of this Country, was a Citizen of the United States after as well as before the alleged secession of Mississippi—did not divest himself of the obligations of such citizenship and could not, unless by becoming a Citizen of some foreign country, recognized by our Government as such. The assumed Secession of Mississippi, her confederation with certain other States claimed to have in like manner seceded, and their combined recognition of a state of war as existing between their Confederacy and the Union, were in our view legal nullities, like John Brown's Constitution adopted by his followers in a negro church in Canada, under which they inaugurated their hair-brained, disastrous Harper's Ferry enterprise."—*Tribune*, May 26, 1865.

What H. G. Knew about Mrs. Jefferson Davis in 1865.

"Mrs. Jefferson Davis (*vide* her captured letter to her husband) writes in March last, from Montgomery, that she 'thought of buying a poor girl who appealed to her, as the wife of the President, to take her out of the Tavern.' 'I am so tired,' said the girl, 'of being bought by first one negro trader and then another. If you have a little girl, as they say you have, I will wait upon her till I die if she will only be good to me.' It does not appear that she was bought. Possibly Mrs. President Davis had no money which the 'negro trader' was willing to take. What became of the 'poor girl' we may never know. We all know what has become of Mrs. Jefferson Davis, and what home her husband has found at last. We have no disposition to undervalue the sympathy which this unfortunate lady professes to have felt, but if the mournful tale to which she listened had awakened in her a little righteous indignation at the sin and shame of 'negro trading' we should have considered her feelings as somewhat more genuine."—*Tribune*, July 6, 1865.

What H. G. Knew about Hanging Rebel Chiefs in 1865.

"If we could see how the hanging of a score or two of those Rebel Chiefs who are not protected by a military capitulation would benefit either the Blacks or the Poor Whites of the South we might be reconciled to it; for we regard the enfranchisement and elevation of a race as of more consequence than any dozen lives. But it seems to us that hanging men in cold blood for no other crime than defeated, broken-down rebellion, is calculated to enshrine them in the memory of their followers, to embitter the late rebels against the Union, its supporters and its sway, and to prompt them to wreak their hate and vengeance on that class of Unionists who are still exposed to their wrath—that is, the just emancipated Blacks. In our judgment, the hanging of six rebels, merely as rebels, will cause the death, by privation, famine, or violence, of many thousands of Freedmen, and interpose a formidable barrier to the elevation of their class to citizenship and a voice in the government of their respective States; hence we are inflexibly opposed to it."—*Tribune*, June 7, 1865.

What H. G. Knew about Pardoning Jefferson Davis in October, 1865.

"To Andrew Johnson. Poor White, and late journeyman tailor, but now President of the United States, there appeared on Friday a deputation of the Chivalry of South Carolina, seeking the pardon of Jefferson Davis, late President of the Southern Confederacy, and certain other magnates of that collapsed 'institution.' It was fit that these should thus sue for the pardon of their late leaders; fit (we trust) that the President should incline a gracious ear to their petition. But the President was not content with listening. He moved the Previous Question: 'You ask me for pardons; I have already liberated on parole a part of those in whose behalf you invoke clemency; I will see what can be done as to the rest; now, let me ask you what progress your State is making, or likely to make, in securing to her black people the common rights of manhood, but especially the rights to sue and be sued in your Courts, and to give testimony therein?' It was a home-thrust, wherewith the delegation winced, fluttered, and suddenly grew reserved and diplomatic. They were decidedly more reticent than the plain straight-forward Chief Magistrate they had taken quite a long journey to address and consult. If either party to that colloquy came off second best it certainly was not Andrew Johnson."—*Tribune*, October 16, 1865.

What H. G. Knew about the Imprisonment of Jefferson Davis in April, 1866.

"We do not wonder that Mr. Davis's confinement in Fortress Monroe is irksome, but are surprised to hear that in other respects it is unhealthful. We are opposed to any captive dying from fault of his prison—we had that objection to Andersonville. A paper published outside the walls begs the President, 'if he is unwilling to set his captive free, to at least transfer him to some more healthful place of confinement.' We had always regarded Fortress Monroe as a well-appointed prison, and, if possible, the most comfortable, certainly the most secure, in the Government service."—*Tribune*, April 13, 1866.

What H. G. Knew about the Trial of Jefferson Davis on the 4th of June, 1866.

"Messrs. O'Connor and Shea, counsel for Jefferson Davis, have gone to Richmond to attend the opening there of the U. S. Circuit Court this morning; and it is understood that they intend to bring the case of their client to trial if possible. If this be denied, they will endeavor to procure his liberation on bail.

"If Mr. Davis is to be tried—as it seems to us he ought to be—we can imagine no reason for deferring his trial. If he has been unjustly proclaimed an assassin, he should somehow be relieved from the blasting inculpation. And if he is *not* to be tried, but is merely held until public sentiment will admit of his liberation, we protest against the policy as unworthy. Even if the object of his imprisonment were to render him the sole idol of the late Rebels, making them forget all his faults in their sympathy for his condition, it has already been fully achieved."—*Tribune*, June 4, 1866.

What H. G. Knew about Bailing Jefferson Davis in June, 1866.

"It is reported from Washington that a number of well-known gentlemen stand ready to give bail for Jefferson Davis in any required amount, but that the Government are disposed to release him, if at all, upon his parole."—*Tribune*, June 11, 1866.

What H. G. Knew about the Trial of Jefferson Davis on the 22d of June, 1866.

"We welcome the news from Fortress Monroe of the assignment of spacious and comfortable apartments for the housekeeping of Mr. and Mrs. Jefferson Davis. By-and-by the farce will have become too glaring, and then he will be let go. What is the use of persisting in a cheat whereby nobody is cheated? Mr. Davis is not to be tried—at all events, not with intent or expectation of convicting him. Then why is he longer subsisted at the public cost? Let us have an end of the sham!"—*Tribune*, June 22, 1866.

What H. G. Knew of the Liberation on Bail of Jefferson Davis.

"The Iowa State Gazette (Des Moines) says of the bailing of Jefferson Davis that 'almost any other man than Horace Greeley, in thus attempting to throw the broad mantle of charity over the Rebellion and its most prominent figure, would have been booted off the stage for his officiousness.' It happens that Cornelius Vanderbilt, Gerritt Smith, John M. Botts and several others also signed the bond in question, and no one—not even Wendell Phillips—ever whispered a rebuke to one of them for so doing. Will *The Gazette* reconsider? Horace Greeley wishes no one to divide or share his responsibility in the premises."—*Tribune*, June 17, 1871.

What H. G. Proposed to Do with Jefferson Davis.

"When the impeachment of President Johnson was fully resolved on, and there was for some weeks a fair prospect that Mr. Wade would soon be President, with a Cabinet of like Radical Faith, I suggested to some of the prospective President's next friends that I had Jefferson Davis still on my hands, and that, if he were considered a handy thing to have in the house, I might turn him over to the new administration for trial at an hour's notice. The suggestion evoked no enthusiasm, and I was not encouraged to press it."—*Recollections of a Busy Life*, page 416.

What H. G. Knew about Jefferson Davis in November, 1868.

"Mr. Jefferson Davis has at last found his vocation. He made a bad job of it in 'founding a nation,' but he seems to fare better as a popular lecturer. The importance of exploring Jerusalem is the present burden of his song. Likewise the peculiar fitness of Englishmen for that honorable 'task.' Being thus Orientally inclined, he will next be heard of, we presume, discoursing on 'Dead Sea Fruits.' Possibly, indeed, he may follow that with 'The peculiar fitness of Americans (in the Southern States) for their enjoyment.' After this the 'Apple of Sodom,' and then 'The Ten Lost Tribes.'"—*Tribune*, November 27, 1868.

What H. G. Knew about Jefferson Davis in June, 1870.

"We don't expect to see Mr. Jeff. Davis become as hot in his Unionism, on short notice, as he was in his rebellion awhile ago. But if his 'lost cause' be really dead, why should he not let it be buried out of sight? He delivered a minute's speech a few days ago, in Memphis, in behalf of Sunday Schools; and in almost every sentence, of the half-dozen sentences of which it was composed, he managed to obtrude the Rebel leader and his lost cause in an offensively prominent manner. His opening sentence was: '*Friends!* there was a time when I could say *fellow-citizens!*' As Mr. Davis is yet disfranchised, he cannot say '*fellow-citizens!*' but as he disfranchised himself some ten years ago, we do not see that he need talk so sadly of his loss. He next referred to the '*rising generation,*' to whom, said he, 'we must look for the resurrection of the buried hopes of the past.' This is treading on dangerous ground, and we really think that Mr. Davis is the last man who, under existing circumstances, ought to tread there."—*Tribune*, June 30, 1870.

WHAT HORACE GREELEY KNOWS

ABOUT

*Fourierism—Free Love—Finance—Lager Beer—Women's Rights—The
Public Debt—Colleges and Universities—Gold Gambling—
American Cooking—Diplomacy—The Army and
Navy—The Public Debt—General
Grant's Administration,
&c., &c., &c.*

What H. G. Knew about Fourierism in 1844.

"The first Vice-President at a Fourierite convention, held at New York in April, 1844, was Horace Greeley, who had since 1842 devoted a column of *The Tribune* (ostensibly under the editorial charge of Mr. Brisbane) to the cause of socialism. At the banquet, with which the convention was closed, on the anniversary of Fourier's birthday, Mr. Greeley was toasted as having 'created the cause on this continent.' He returned his thanks for the eulogium and said:

"When I took up this cause, I knew that I went in the teeth of many of my patrons, in the teeth of prejudices of the great mass, in the teeth of religious prejudices, for I confess I had a great many more clergymen on my list before than I have now, as I am sorry to say, for had they kept on, I think I could have done them a little good. [Laughter.] But in the face of all this, in the face of constant advices, 'Don't have any thing more to do with that Mr. Brisbane,' I went on. 'Oh!' said many of my friends, 'consider your position—consider your influence.' 'Well,' said I, 'I shall endeavor to do so, but I must try to do some good in the meantime, or else what is the use of the influence.' [Cheers.] And thus I have gone on, pursuing a manly and at the same time a circumspect course, treading wantonly on no man's prejudice, telling on the contrary, universal man, I will defer to your prejudices, as far as I can consistently with duty; but when duty leads me, you must excuse my stepping on your corn if it be in the way. [Cheers.]" *Noyes' History of American Socialism.*

What H. G. was willing to do to Propagate Fourierism in 1845.

"As one Associationist, who has given his efforts and means freely to the cause, I feel that I have a right to speak frankly. I know that the great number of our believers are far from wealthy; yet I know that there is wealth enough in our ranks, if it were but devoted to it, to give an instant and resistless influence to the cause. A few thousand dollars subscribed to the stock of each existing Association would, in most cases, extinguish the mortgages on its property, provide it with machinery and materials, and render its industry immediately productive and profitable. Then manufacturing invention and skill would fearlessly take up their abode with our infant colonies; labor and thrift would flow thither, and a new and brighter era would dawn upon them. Fellow Associationists! I shall do whatever I can for the promotion of the common cause; to it whatever I have or may hereafter acquire of pecuniary ability is devoted: may I not hope a like devotion from you? H. G."—*Noyes' History of American Socialism.*

What H. G. Knew about Fourierism in 1847.

"This thing association, as I hold and advocate it, is a matter of Practice altogether—the simple actualization of the truth of the Universal Human Brotherhood. Christ's Law of Love is palpably outraged and condemned in a world of palaces and mud hovels—of famished toil and pampered uselessness—of boundless wealth, uselessly hoarded, and helpless infancy dying in bitter agony and supplication for 'only three grains of corn.' Let us redress the palpable wrongs before us by prompt action, and we will consider theories and speculations at our leisure. Fourier's idea, that God governs the Universe throughout by attraction—that this is the law of life and health for all intelligent beings—is a grand and inspiring one—it may possess great practical value when we come fully to understand and apply it."—*Tribune, March 12, 1847.*

What H. G. Knew about Fourierism in 1850.

"Here, then, is the basis of our demand for the integral and all pervading reform in the circumstances and conditions of human existence which we term ASSOCIATION, and in which rests my hope of a better day at hand for the down-trodden millions. Association affirms that every child born into the world has a rightful claim upon the community around him for subsistence until able to earn for himself an education which shall enable him to earn efficiently as well as rightly to improve and enjoy; and for opportunity to earn at all times, by honest industry, steadily employed and justly remunerated. These it affirms as the Common Rights of Humanity, denied or subverted as to many by our present social arrangements, but which Society ought to be and must be so recast as to establish and secure. To short-sighted human impatience, it now seems deplorable that Philanthropy and Christianity do not instantly rally the influential and the affluent to our aid, and enable us to demonstrate the feasibility of a vast and beneficent Social Reform forthwith, but I doubt not that those who shall ultimately reap where we shall have sown will clearly perceive that the Providential direction was far wiser than our haste, and that our rebuffs and disappointments were a part of the necessary agencies whereby their success was rendered perfect and enduring."—*Hints at Social Reform*, pages 39-41.

What H. G. Knew about the adoption of Fourierism in 1862.

"Horace Greeley was Treasurer of the Sylvania Association, formed in 1843, and signed a declaration of the manner in which it proposed to reconstruct 'the present defective, vice-engendering, and ruinous system of society, with the wasteful complication of its isolated households.' Having earnestly studied the system of industrial organization and social reform propounded by Charles Fourier, and been led to recognize in it a beneficent, expansive, and practical plan for the melioration of the condition of man and his moral and intellectual elevation, they most heartily adopted that system as the basis and guide of their operations. The Sylvania Association is the first attempt in North America to realize in practice the vast economies, intellectual advantages and social enjoyments resulting from Fourier's system."—*Noyes' History of Socialism in America*.

What H. G. Knows about the Marriage Question.

"Fourier expressly declared, as have his followers after him, that all questions regarding Marriage and the relations of the sexes should be settled by the Ministers of Religion and the Women of a nobler and purer era, and that meantime existing institutions should be sustained. There are in his multifarious writings theories of Cosmogony, of Life in the Sun and various Planets, the production of beings on one by the influence of other Planets, &c., &c. All these, like the kindred reveries of Swedenborg, may be very extravagant and absurd or may not, for aught we care. All we know or care is that they form no part of the system of Industrial and Household Association, which we confide in and cherish as the only and effectual remedy for the ignorance, misdevelopment, enforced idleness, degradation, wrong, want and misery which are now and long have been the destiny on earth of a large portion of the Human Race. Whatever is essential to this we believe in and try to promote; for all beyond it we care nothing, whether its author were Fourier or anybody else."—*Tribune*, July 18, 1846.

What H. G. Knew about the Gatherings of the Free-Love Club.

"Having read all that has appeared with respect to the breaking up of the gathering at the 'Free-Love' club on Thursday evening, we conclude from it that the interference of the Police was entirely gratuitous and unwarranted. We fear the effect of it will be to excite a sympathy for those whose personal rights were violated, which will be insensibly extended to their most mistaken and pernicious theories. Unsound opinions are not, as vicious acts are, legitimate objects of Police repression; and if men are to be thrust into prison because of their erroneous theories, they are morally certain to gain converts to those theories from the natural repugnance of mankind to acts of usurpation and oppression. The whole affair looks exceedingly as though the Police Captains went to the club expressly to break it up, and determined that an excuse should be found or made for the seizure of those persons whose names were calculated to give most eclat to the demonstration."—*Tribune*, October 20, 1855.

What H. G. Knows about Women's Rights.

"⁶⁴⁴ Mrs. Henry B. Stanton has come out boldly in favor of the wearing of pantaloons by women, and, by consequence, we presume, intends that men shall wear petticoats. Thus is it Mrs. Stanton's masculine object that women shall behave like men; and we doubt not some of them will. But we fear that this most excellent orator will fail of her purpose, after all. She declares her design to be to adopt masculine costume as a disguise of sex. We beg to assure her that if, over confident, she should herself, with all her historic talent, essay such disguise, the first policeman she met would convince her of her mistake. What says the mother of her country?—*Tribune*, July 28, 1869.

What H. G. Knows about Victoria Woodhull.

"For ourselves we toss our hats in air for Woodhull. *She* has the courage of her opinions! *She* means business. *She* intends to head a new rebellion, form a new constitution, and begin a revolution beside which the late war will seem but a bagatelle, if within exactly one year from this day and hour of grace her demands be not granted out of hand. This is a spirit to respect, perhaps to fear; certainly not to be laughed at. Would that the rest of those who burden themselves with the enfranchisement of one-half our whole population, now lying in chains and slavery, but had her sagacious courage!"—*Tribune*, May 12, 1871.

What H. G. Knows about Polygamy in Utah.

"After all, the polygamy of Salt Lake Valley is not simply an outgrowth of Mormonism, but its existence is due to the imperfect recognition of woman's rights in Christendom. Except in this country women cannot be said to have any rights, and even here they are scantily and grudgingly acknowledged, save in a few particulars."—*Tribune*, October 22, 1853.

What H. G. Knows about the Marriage Relation.

"That the Marriage Relation in the world as it is is frequently and flagrantly tainted by mercenary and other unworthy considerations, we have never heard any man question in private conversation. That the tendency of our prevailing mode of educating woman, and practically denying her any sphere of honorable independence of others' labor, is to this perversion, it seems that no reflecting person can doubt. Consider the case of a daughter of a broken merchant, a ruined stock-broker or speculator, a turned-out office-holder, who has been reared in idleness and luxury, and has beauty enough to attract the positive attentions of some single man old as her father is and rich as he would like to be. What chance has she—often a mere child—to resist the parental importunities, if nothing worse than importunities, to which she will naturally be subjected? Do we not all know that most unfit marriages are daily taking place in which the victim often sacrifices herself to a mistaken sense of duty? Are not all History, all Literature, all Private Life, full of such cases? Admit that Fourier and Brisbane have not presented the true remedy, do they not deserve some credit for calling attention earnestly to the evil? We know it is not nearly so prevalent here as in France, which was the country specially regarded by Fourier, but we know that the evil exists here, and urgently demand a remedy."—*Tribune*, July 11, 1846.

What H. G. Knows about Riding New Hobbies.

"It has been urged as an objection to *The Tribune*, that it proposed to 'give hospitality to every new thought. To that profession we shall be constant, at whatever sacrifice. Full of error, and suffering as the world yet is, we cannot afford to reject unexamined any idea which proposes to improve the Moral, Intellectual, or Social condition of mankind. Better incur the trouble of testing and exploding a thousand fallacies than, by rejecting, stifle a single beneficent truth. Especially on the vast theme of an improved Organization of Industry, so as to secure constant opportunity and a just recompense to every human being able and willing to labor, we are not and cannot be indifferent. Although we cannot devote much space to this or any abstract purpose, yet we shall endeavor to keep our readers apprised of whatever is suggested and whatever shall be done tending to improve the Social condition of the toiling millions of mankind. No subject can be more important than this; no improvement more certain of attainment. The plans hitherto suggested may all prove abortive; the experiments hitherto set on foot may all come to nought, (as many of them doubtless will); yet these mistakes shall serve to indicate the true means of improvement, and these experiments shall bring nearer and nearer the grand consummation which they contemplate. The securing of thorough Education, Opportunity, and just Reward to all, cannot be beyond the reach of the Nineteenth Century."—*Tribune*, May 29, 1846.

What H. G. Knows about the Endowment of Universities.

"We never objected to the designation of Socialist when it was a term of reproach and opprobrium, and we adhere to the convictions under which we earnestly fought the battle of absolutely Free Common Schools for all the children of our State. We assent, with some scruples, to the policy of State Normal Schools for the education of Common School Teachers, whose qualifications are too generally meager and questionable. There, however, we stop. Free Academies and State Universities, for the supply of a gratuitous classic or scientific education to all who see fit (and are able) to claim their advantages, are at war with our idea of the legitimate functions of Government and with that equality which should prevail in the distribution and enjoyment of those blessings. If our city is to be turned into a great Communist establishment—for which we consider its population very ill prepared—let us begin with the satisfaction of

their most urgent and absolute wants before we attempt the satisfaction of those of a more ethereal character. Let us first guarantee to every needy man employment and honest bread before we undertake to glut his intellectual cravings on Greek Tragedies, Hebrew Roots, and Conic Sections. In a city where many thousands of children go to bed supperless three months in the year because their parents have no work and no money, it seems a mockery and an insult to talk of welcoming all our children to the advantages of a University Education."—*Tribune*, July 8, 1856.

What H. G. Knows about Organizations of Foreign-born Citizens.

"This foreign, anti-American feeling exhibits itself in various other ways. Even in the matter of the military it is obtruded in the grossest manner. If anything ought to be national surely it should be the soldiers of a country; but here we are provided with German and Irish regiments and brigades, as though this country were a poor colony of Ireland and Germany, instead of an independent State of its own right. No country but this would permit such a glaring departure from the most obvious requirements of national integrity and domestic safety as is displayed by these foreign regiments. If the hearts of these men were really in America, they would wear no foreign names, badges, or uniforms; this country's insignia would be all in all to them. Now, we protest against this foreign organization; we protest for the sake of the propriety and dignity of the immigrants themselves. If they come to this country merely as merchant peddlers or princes, to make the most money in the least time, careless whether filth or crime overspread the commercial Metropolis—the fewer speeches they make on whatever saint's day the better, as good taste should make them hold their tongues. But if they come here to be citizens, good taste, to say the least, should make them keep aloof from all anti-American combinations—for any association which is not for us in this country must be against us. There is no use of blinking terms or ignoring logic. In any Irish or German association—charitable, military, or political—the bond is Irish or German, and not American, and therefore it awakes antagonism among all who are Americans simply and wholly."—*Tribune*, March 28, 1854.

What H. G. Knew about German-born Citizens.

"In former elections, where no question of Temperance or Nativism was in issue, a decided majority of our German-born citizens have uniformly voted with the party most favorable to Slavery and its Extension—have cast in their lot with Alabama and Georgia instead of Vermont and Massachusetts. By the votes of Germans, Texas Annexation was carried; by their votes Pierce is now President and the Missouri Restriction broken down. These are facts of the widest and most unquestionable notoriety.

"Now, it is very little to the purpose to say that the Germans are at heart convinced of the injustice and evil of slavery if they act as though they were not. The merchant who says to himself, 'Slavery is wrong, but I cannot afford to offend the slaveholders, who are my best customers,' the lawyer who fishes for clients in the same dirty pool; the priest who stifles the voice of humanity in deference to his front pews; the politician who sells his convictions for an office—they, too, would be practical Anti-Slavery men if it did not cost anything. Wherein, then, do they differ from the great body of our German-born citizens?"—*Tribune*, January 22, 1856.

What H. G. Knows about the war of the Orange and Green.

"Somebody observes that the sects of Donnybrook are never at peace but when they are fighting for the sake of peace. Somebody else, we think it was Dr. Maginn, depicted a body of 'skrimmaging' Irishmen 'fighting like devils for conciliation and hating each other for the love of God.' To say that an annual storm of shillalahs has descended in Ireland, is only to say that the battle of Boyne has been celebrated once more on both sides, and with customary spirit. We have grown to accept the yearly war of Orange and Green, of Catholics and Protestants, as a sort of peace quarrel and pious feud. It adds nothing to the force of the remark that Ireland is politically discontented, and that Fenianism is not dead."—*Tribune*, July 15, 1872.

What H. G. Knows about the Scotch.

"It is a very singular fact that while the Scotch claim to be set down as the most religious and moral nation in the world, there are more illegitimate children born in Scotland, and there is more whiskey drank, in proportion to the population, than in any other country of Europe. It appears, from recent returns, that Scotland, with its population of less than three millions, generally poor, proverbially cautious, and universally thrifty, consumes whiskey annually to the amount of upward of seven millions of gallons, and at a cost, duties included, which has reached, of late, the enormous sum of twenty-four millions of dollars a year, or eight dollars a head for every man, woman, and child in the country."—*Tribune*, September 11, 1856.

What H. G. Knows about the Naturalization of Aliens.

"Many Immigrants are well fitted to act as citizens before they have resided two years among us; others do not qualify themselves fittingly in ten or twenty years; all the Law can do is to prescribe such a probation as shall be right in the average. This we believe it has done; and we hold obedience to that rule, until modified by Congress, the clear duty of every State and community in the Union. The Loco-Foco party in two of the newest States—Michigan and Illinois—have extended to Aliens, if one year in the State, the Elective Franchise; but this is wrong, and cannot be imitated here. An attempt to do it would be defeated, and would tend to injure those making it."—*Tribune*, May 31, 1845.

What H. G. Knew about the Duties of Adopted Citizens.

"An American Citizen, no matter where born, should tolerate no appeals to him in any other character than that of American citizen. To regard and address him as a German or Irishman, is to imply that he has not really become one of us, and ought not to be so considered. He who votes in our elections as an Irishman or German has no moral right to vote at all. There is one other point on which we desire to be clearly understood. We do not believe in the assumed right of one set of men to live in idleness out of profits of dram-selling, and impose on the non-selling, non-tipping portion of the community the burden of supporting the drunkards, paupers, and idiots thence resulting. Nor do we at all accord with those who hold that the laws and settled policy of our State, respecting Sunday, may be defied or derided on the naked assumption that they are unconstitutional. On these and kindred points, we freely accord the fullest liberty of opinion and of action, subject always to our common amenability to the laws of the land. No man is more or less a Republican because he agrees with or differs from us on either or both of these topics. But when any one—German, Irish, or native—sees fit to say to us, 'If you dare to act upon your convictions respecting Sunday, or dram-selling, or something else, I and my set will renounce and oppose the Republican party,' our ready answer is, 'If your Republicanism depends on our acting adversely to our convictions on some matter entirely foreign to National Politics, you can have very little to renounce; but, be it little or much, you will renounce it just whenever you shall see fit, without affecting our course on the other matter one hair. If we must profess what we do not believe, and act as we think uncondusive to the public good, in order to secure or retain your co-operation on another matter as to which we agree, the price is more than we can pay, and we must, however reluctantly, pursue our journey alone. Much as we desire your fellowship, we cannot consent to purchase it by a sacrifice of our own earnest convictions.' 'Between us be truth.' If these frank explanations are *appos* to nothing actual, they can justly give offence to none. If needed, they are not uttered one moment too soon."—*Tribune*, May 8, 1860.

What H. G. Knows about the Immigrant Population.

"We have never denied the existence of great provocations to Nativism in this country, and unless these can be put aside, we expect to witness occasional outbursts of anti-Foreign excitement. Our Immigrant population is deplorably clannish, misguided and prone to violence. We never saw a party of Americans-born approach a peaceable poll with weapons in their hands; we have seen Irish bands of two or three hundred, armed with heavy clubs, traversing the streets on election day and clearly provoking a fight; we have known such beat a peaceful opponent for no fault—twenty falling upon one—until his life was in danger. We have seen men taken to courts to be naturalized and put through like a sheep-washing, when they did not know what they swore and were in no condition to take on themselves the solemn responsibilities of Citizenship. We have seen the public advertisements of party Naturalization Committees offering to grind out voters *gratis*, in order to swell the votes of their party, and we thought Adopted Citizens who are Citizens ought to interfere with this scandalous business, which casts reproach on their whole body; but they said nothing, and seemed to take it quite as a matter of course. Yet certainly men who desire and are fitted to become Citizens do not need to be put through in that reckless way."—*Tribune*, June 15, 1854.

What H. G. Knew about the Freedom of Cuba in 1866.

"Spanish domination and Slavery—one and inseparable—are doomed to a speedy end in Cuba. The world is fully advertised that the Cubans are resolved to be free and to give freedom to the slaves, who, on their island, endure a bondage more complete, though not more detested, than their own. The 'Monroe Doctrine' may not cover the case of Cuba, but the universal conviction of Americans that this continent is divinely intended for the use of those who choose to live on it, and not to pamper the favorites of European kings and courts, bears directly on the question of her future. We shall be disappointed if ever a Spanish Governor-General eats another Christmas dinner in Cuba, unless behind the thick walls and frowning batteries of the Moro Castle."—*Tribune*, July 10, 1866.

What H. G. Knows about Honest Talk on Protection.

"Thus, also, of that great national obligation—the protection of the Productive Labor of the Country. We wear no double faces; we speak with no forked tongues dark sayings to be

interpreted in favor of Free Trade or Protection, as circumstances shall require. We advocate a Protection of the Industry of the Country in all its important branches by a Discriminating Tariff, which shall be so adjusted as to give stability and security to all our Home Interests. We reject all that juggling which wears two faces under one hood, and by a mystical enunciation of 'High Tariff' and 'Moderate Duties,' 'Revenue Tariff,' 'Incidental Protection,' and the like, or by speaking on one side and voting on the other, attempts in all its acts to embody and exemplify the magical union of 'Northern Men with Southern Principles.' We leave all this sort of management to those whose unlimited dexterity and unchecked flexibility better fit them to pursue it, while we stand frankly, firmly before you, as the advocates of Protection for the sake of Protection, and to the free extent of the necessity on that ground."—*Tribune*, September 24, 1842.

What H. G. Knows about Horse-Racing.

"A race-course is the high-change of vice and rowdylism. It is true that respectable persons are sometimes found there; but on the other hand convicts who have served out their jail term, as well as candidates for the prison and gallows, gamblers, cheats, swindlers, pimps, bullies, and ruffians and villains of every degree, find their way to the horse-race by an affinity as facile as universal. In countries where the masses are policed and bayoneted into submission, the race-course is kept in order in the same way that Sing Sing prison is; by an omnipresent and overwhelming authority. In this country, where the people are restive under the over-rule of the musket or the mace, a race-course is a rude carnival where evil triumphs."—*Tribune*, February 8, 1856.

What H. G. Knows about the Bounties Granted to Union Soldiers.

"Is there ever to be an end of the 'Equalization' of bounties? Mr. Williams, of Indiana, introduced in the House yesterday one bounty bill; Mr. Schenck, of Ohio, another; Mr. Perham, of Maine, added a third, and there were two more bills to take money out of the Treasury and put it into the pockets of the soldiers. Mr. Schenck said last session that he thought the bill he was then engineering would do to begin with. It was estimated to take about \$400,000,000 out of the Treasury. Mr. Banks said he did not care whether it took \$400,000,000 or \$800,000,000—he was for opening the doors and telling the soldiers to help themselves. The natural fruit of this wild talk is the present crop of additional bills. We suppose the enthusiasm of these gentlemen will stop somewhere, but we fear not till they see the bottom of Uncle Sam's strong box."—*Tribune*, March 12, 1867.

What H. G. Knows about Naval Reform.

"To sell out the Navy-yards to the highest bidder, saving only the best one, if any—to burn or lay up under cover all our old and nearly all our large sailing vessels—to stop the appointment of any more captains, lieutenants, or midshipmen while there shall be already officers of these grades respectively 'waiting orders'—that is, doing nothing—and to transform our National vessels propelled by steam into Mail Packets, running on the more or less important routes, according to their value or swiftness, allowing them to carry Passengers and Freight within their capacity as well as Mails—these are the outlines of a system of Naval Reform which would save Five Millions per annum to the Treasury and render the Navy far more useful than it is."—*Tribune*, June 11, 1858.

What H. G. Knows about Men who Love Tobacco.

"Brethren I' said Parson Strong of Hartford, preaching a Connecticut election sermon in high-party times some fifty years ago, 'it has been charged that I have said every Democrat is a horse thief. I never did. What I did say was only that every horse thief is a Democrat, and that I can prove!' So I do not say that every smoker or chewer is necessarily a blackguard, however steep the proclivity that way; but show me a genuine blackguard, one of the b'hoys, and no mistake, who is not a lover of tobacco in some shape, and I will agree to find you two white black-birds."—*Hints toward Reform*, page 359.

What H. G. Knows about Democratic Orators.

"Henry Clay Dean, C. Chauncey Burr, and Montgomery Blair are the principal speakers for the Democratic party in New Hampshire. John Quincy Adams tried his hand once, but from not liking the company, or some other powerful reason, he suddenly withdrew. Brick Pomeroy has been fishing for an engagement, but as Dean and Burr can 'dive deeper, stay under longer, and come out nastier' than any other living creature, Mr. Pomeroy is not needed. He cannot gild Dean's gold, nor paint Burr's lily, nor add perfume to Blair's violet"—*Tribune*, March 4, 1868.

What H. G. Knows about the Fusion of Democrats and Republicans.

"There is an old jest in the law-books of a certain knight whose silk stockings had been so often damaged, that it became a question in Chancery whether they should be legally considered the original hose or substantially a different pair. We are reminded of this by the thick-flying rumors of the future pious intentions of the venerable Democratic party, and of a scheme to weave certain Republican threads into the looped and windowed raggedness of this rather shaky organization. The story is, that when the National Convention meets a great magical wash-pot is to be set up, in which the party will proceed to clean itself of all its old opinions, whims, notions, and traditions, so that it can stand before the people bright and regenerated, renewed, and redeemed, dirtless and disenthralled! We once heard a judge say that he did not see why trover could not be brought for a house, and if the Republican platform is to be carried off in bulk, we must certainly try to find out some way of getting it back again. Very little has lately been said about the abduction and appropriation of Chief Justice Chase, but we warn His Honor still to keep upon his guard; and we must extend our warning to the entire Adams family, against which we have reason to believe the most nefarious designs are entertained. It is curious that the main part of this precious scheme should be the capture of a couple of stray Republicans? The touching confidence which presupposes that Chief Justice Chase is to be had for the asking, would not seem to argue a very high opinion of the integrity of human nature; and we really do not know why the Democracy should have such an opinion. But the beauty of the business is the nomination of an Adams for the Vice-Presidency. We do not know what reason they have for thinking that Mr. Charles Francis Adams would accept their nomination for the office—all we have to say is that if he should, the gentleman who ran on the Buffalo Platform with Mr. Van Buren would find himself once more in rather queer company."—*Tribune*, May 23, 1868.

What H. G. Knows about the Wants of the Jeff. Davis Party.

"Mr. Jefferson Davis, who certainly knows the Southern Democrats better than either of those eminent Northern Leaders, is industriously proving that the party is just what it always was, pursuing the same objects now that it pursued ten years ago, holding fast all the old doctrines, and ready for another rebellion whenever the time seems ripe. Mr. Davis for several years past has courted a becoming obscurity. But no sooner does Mr. Vallandigham announce his 'New Departure' than the ex-chieftain of the Lost Cause emerges from his retirement, makes a triumphal journey through the South, rouses his old followers and tell us in very plain language that the New Departure is all a delusion. Mr. Davis has been so warmly received by the Southern people and so heartily applauded that we cannot help attributing to this movement a deep significance. It is a warning to the Northern Democrats that they can expect no help from the South unless they fight openly under the old banners.

"I am not of those who 'accept the situation,' said Mr. Davis at Atlanta; 'I accept nothing. I have done nothing that I am sorry for. I shall not abide by the issue of the war. The South is only waiting. The cause for which we fought must triumph sooner or later. Our policy is to watch the current of events, and when our friends at the North are ready to help us we will them. They will give us what we want, and we shall put them in power.'

"What the Davis party wants is of course well understood. The right of any State to break up the Union at pleasure is a cardinal doctrine of their creed. 'State sovereignty must be restored,' exclaims the Rebel ex-President, 'or else the republic of America is a failure.' The day is not far distant when the sun will shine upon you as a free, independent, and 'sovereign State.' It is true he does not advise an immediate war; he even professes, as he did in 1861, earnestly to desire peace. All he wanted at the outset of the rebellion was 'to be let alone,' and that is all he wants now. It is true that he does not counsel armed resistance; but he is kind enough to explain that 'there never was any organization in the South whose purpose was resistance to the Government, and by the time he has made a few more speeches we dare say he will reach the proposition that there never was any war.'"—*Tribune*, May 31, 1871.

What H. G. Knew in 1844 about the Position of a Presidential Candidate.

"We heartily approve the determination of Mr. Clay, announced by a letter in this morning's *Tribune*, not to attend, much less address, any meeting while he is a candidate for President. Mr. Clay says: 'The election of a Chief Magistrate of a free, great, and enlightened nation is one of the gravest and most momentous functions which the People can exercise. It is emphatically, and ought to be exclusively, their own business. Upon the wisdom of their choice depends the preservation and soundness of free institutions, and the welfare and prosperity of themselves. In making it, they should be free, impartial, and wholly unbiased by the conduct of a candidate himself. Not only, in my opinion, is it his duty to abstain from all solicitation, direct or indirect, of their suffrages, but he should avoid being voluntarily placed in situations to seek, or in which he might be supposed to seek, to influence their judgment. Entertaining

these views of what becomes a candidate for the exalted office of President of the United States I shall act in strict conformity with them. Hereafter, and until the pending Presidential election is decided, I cannot accept nor attend any public meeting of my fellow-citizens, assembled in reference to that object, to which I may have been or shall be invited. It is my wish and intention, when I leave this city, to return home as quietly and quickly as possible, and, employing myself in my private business and affairs, there to await the decision of the Presidential election, acquiescing in it, whatever it may be, with the most perfect submission." —*Tribune*, May 6, 1844.

What H. G. knows about the political treason of John Tyler.

At last "Mr. Tyler stood forth an embittered, implacable enemy of the party which had raised him from obscurity and neglect to the pinnacle of power. Men always hate those they have wronged; and Mr. Tyler fairly detested those he had betrayed. Before he had been a year in power, he was in full, though covert, alliance with the Democrats, and figuring for the next Presidential nomination."

What H. G. Knows about Imperialism.

"We have never been in less danger of imperialism than we are now. There never was a time in the history of our country when the people exercised a more direct control of the Government, or the force of public opinion was more generally recognized by our chief executive officers. There is abundant infidelity in public trusts, and corruption of private morals; but these evils are all bred by long wars and inflated currencies, and time will work a reformation. The present Administration has already made a long advance in the direction of public economy, and economy is the parent of many other virtues. On the other hand, we were never in so much danger of drifting into an aristocratic form of government as under the rule of the infamous Slave oligarchy of which Mr. Fillmore was the facile instrument. The liberties of our country never were seriously threatened, except by the miscalled Democratic party, which, unable to find a vulnerable spot in the Administration of President Grant, is now trying to frighten the people by the silly cry of 'imperialism.' It is of no use; Americans have too much common sense." —*Tribune*, June 29, 1869.

What H. G. Knows about Inconsistent Champions of Freedom.

"It is a lamentable spectacle to see men whose best days of manly maturity and mental power were devoted to the cause of freedom departing from consistency in their old days, to the disheartening of those upon whom the better example of their early life might exert an inspiring influence. These painful aberrations cannot be explained on the ground that age has a tendency to chill enthusiasm for freedom, for we have many examples to the contrary. Must we look for the explanation of them in some natural defect of character, developed by circumstances?" —*Tribune*, September 17, 1867.

What H. G. Knows about Preferring Tammany to Wood.

"We have no sympathy, and never can have, with Mr. Fernando Wood nor any of his belongings. We regard him as a bad, dangerous man, who has done very much to demoralize and debase the political atmosphere of our City. Since Aaron Burr no man has done more in that line. In the long struggle between him and his enemies entrenched in Tammany Hall, our partialities have notoriously been against him throughout. And now, if they prove to have effectually squelched him at Syracuse, we shall be glad of it, whatever the political consequences." —*Tribune*, September 17, 1858.

What H. G. Knows about President Grant.

"Gen. Grant is as thoroughly a citizen to-day, as perfectly civilian in his habits, as any man in the country. We think of no one in public station who represents more fully the idea of the American gentleman. Unostentatious, unassuming, brave; without ambition, forbearing, resolute in doing what he deems to be right, but never offensive in asserting himself, General Grant is a man of the people; one in heart and feeling with the men who dig and plow and weave." —*Tribune*, February 13, 1869.

What H. G. Knows about Grants to Agricultural Colleges.

"One of the recommendations which the Governor urges in his message is that in favor of a State grant to aid in the establishment of an Agricultural College. No doubt Academies and Colleges are valuable and useful institutions, but that is no reason why they should be aided by means of taxes imposed on those whose children cannot be educated by them. There is noth-

ing that we view with less complacency than the annual donations which the Legislature is in the habit of making to them. If these institutions, many of them sectarian and merely local, are fit to exist at; if they are really required by the respective religious denominations and localities which enjoy their advantages, let them be supported by those denominations and by the people of those localities. Otherwise, they are not wanted, and ought at once to shut up shop and retire from business."—*Tribune*, January 8, 1856.

What H. G. Knows about the Episcopal Church.

"The Articles, Liturgy, and other formularies of the Church of England, are a curious jumble of Romanism and Protestantism, being neither more nor less than an attempt at a compromise between the antagonistic ideas which lie at the bottom of those two systems, and like the attempted compromise here with us, between Freedom and Slavery, it requires constant patching and a succession of new compromises—not always very honorable to the Church itself, or very creditable to the parties concerned in them—to preserve the balance of power between these discordant elements, nor will there ever be peace and harmony in the Church till this idea of compromise is abandoned, and one or the other shall have secured a complete and permanent triumph."—*Tribune*, December 9, 1856.

What H. G. Knows about the Jesuits.

"We are not exempt from the current prejudices against the Jesuits, for which History, as we read it, affords much justification. They appear to be a numerous and able body, bound together by secret ties, and animated by a quenchless and measureless zeal for the extension of their church's faith and supremacy. Such a body, so engrossed by a single idea, will be very apt to welcome almost any means which, to short-sighted human frailty, would seem calculated to promote their ends, or rather are likely to consider almost any means laudable which give promise of so doing. It needed no Pascal to convince us that the moral code of such a body, in so far as it contemplates the means of accomplishing or furthering their one great purpose, is not likely to be distinguished for its scrupulous nicety."—*Tribune*, February 16, 1847.

What H. G. Knew would Put a Stop to Gold Gambling, But it Didn't.

"An important bill has passed both Houses of Congress, and will doubtless be signed by the President forthwith. It aims to lay the ax at the root of the upas of Gold Gambling. For years past, the partisans of the Rebellion quartered in our city have systematically and by concert striven and employed their means to increase the premium on Gold. Their intercepted letters prove that they did this in behalf of their master, Jeff. Davis, and in the conviction that they were aiding the Rebellion as truly and palpably as though they were wielding muskets in the front rank of Lee's army. A good many, of whom better things were justly expected, have been lured by Mammon into vying with them in their unholy work. These are now fairly warned that their deeds are evil—that they have earned the reprobation of Congress—that to persevere in Gold-gambling is to affront the majesty of Law. We trust they will be induced to repent and reform; or, if they should not, that they will be made to suffer. The premium on Gold may rise still higher, though we do not believe it will; but if this law is enforced and obeyed it will only do so because our inordinate Importations and our inadequate Taxation render such a calamity inevitable."—*Tribune*, June 15, 1864.

[The Act above alluded to, known as the "Greeley Gold Law," was approved by the President on the 17th of June, 1864. The next day the price of gold in Wall street was 195, and it rose steadily until on the 29th inst. it had reached 250, and it became necessary to abolish the cause of this injurious depreciation of the national currency. An Act repealing the Act of June 17 was promptly passed by Congress, and approved July 2, 1864.]

What H. G. Knew about the Income Tax.

"The Income Tax expires by limitation after one more payment. We heartily rejoice at this; for it would be difficult to devise another tax so unequal, so widely evaded, or so conducive to fraud and perjury as this is."—*Tribune*, July 10, 1869.

What H. G. Knows about the Reduction of the National Debt.

"The fact that the Debt has been steadily and largely reduced has done more than anything else to make the Administration and the party supporting it strong and popular. So many millions paid off each month are to Gen. Grant's Administration what Union victories on hard-fought fields were to Mr. Lincoln's. No financial difficulties

beset a rule which is thus amply supplied with revenue and using it for such a purpose. The fact stated by the President that the annual burden of the Debt is now Seventeen Millions less than it was when he was inaugurated is a perfect Vicksburg to his supporters."—*Tribune*, December 5, 1871.

What H. G. Knows about the Financial Honor of the Western States.

"Cheating is cheating, anyhow you can fix it; and the way Illinois and other Western States have treated their creditors would disgrace a broken gambler. We never had a penny's interest in their Stocks, and so can afford to tell them the truth."—*Tribune*, January 28, 1851.

What H. G. Knows about Paying the Public Debt Now.

"We protest against transmitting the burden of this vast Debt to future generations. Let us resume paying it, and keep on paying till the last farthing is wiped out. We have already repealed a large proportion of our War Taxes. If the Revenue can be honestly collected we can soon abolish or reduce others. But let us in no case fail to proceed with the regular, systematic reduction of our Debt."—*Tribune*, May 17, 1869.

What H. G. Knows about our Diplomatic and Civil Service.

"We know that our country's need of representation abroad is far greater now than in time of peace; we know that Missions and Consulates may justifiably be maintained where they were purely ornamental five years ago; yet we insist that the business is both overdone and overpaid. It is very right, to have Commissioners in Hayti and Liberia; it is monstrous to pay them \$7,500 each in gold (say \$16,000 in greenbacks) in times of trial and peril like these. One-third of these sums would secure good men and would be good pay for the service required. And we think the retention of Ministers Resident at courts like those at Belgium, Switzerland, Rome, Bolivia, Equador, Guatemala, Costa Rica, &c., &c., at a cost of \$16,000 (Greenbacks) each per annum, of very dubious propriety. That our Indian service, Judicial machinery, Public Land System, &c., &c., are costing more than they need or should is our firm conviction. That we might properly consolidate some of our Judicial Districts, (instead of constantly making more,) shut up many played-out Land-offices, and retrench the bills of our Marshals, District Attorneys, &c., by judicious legislation, few who understand will deny."—*Tribune*, February 10, 1865.

What H. G. Knows should be done with the Post Office Department.

"We have at various times called attention to the fact that the Post Office may be abolished and placed in private hands in the same way that Express and forwarding companies are managed. This subject is capable of demonstration in every detail, as we have already shown its chief points. It is one of immediate moment and prophetic grandeur to this republic, for its adoption would be a bold advance on the principle and practice of self-government and an immense reduction of the powers, patronage, and prestige of the General Administration. The National Post Office is the most universally extended as well as the subtle agent of the Federal Government. More even than the Custom-House, which is confined to the seaboard, does the party in power render itself felt throughout the entire Confederacy by means of the Post Office. Whenever a Postmaster is to be appointed, holding his office through the profit of the salary or that indirectly accruing to his country-store, or even esteeming it for the honor, there is a partisan influence at work. It is seriously worthy of inquiry whether this eminent power of corruption shall be left to grow in the hands of the Government, or be promptly taken from the Government and placed in private hands. If the tendencies of our present Administration are to become really Democratic, there would be no doubt as to the course which must be taken. The whole Post Office machinery must be broken down—means of course being allowed for private enterprise and capital to be ready at the moment to take its place. The employment of Postmasters, clerks, mail-contractors, and mail-agents is now the whole business of the Department; the machinery by which the mails are carried—the steamboats and railways, the horses and wagons, and, with few exceptions, the Post Offices—are already private things. So the changing of the Post Office from a political to a private Institution would be easy."—*Tribune*, August 14, 1854.

What H. G. Knows Should be Done with our Army and Navy.

"We hold that our army ought to be reduced to a skeleton, and our navy to a few steamships and swift sailing vessels, nearly always in commission; that three-fourths of our present Army and Navy officers ought to be given a year's pay ahead, and sent about their private business, while a battalion of Quakers—genuine disciples of George Fox and William Penn—should be sent abroad as Embassadors and into the wilderness as Indian agents to keep the peace, and shield our wandering countrymen and borderers from wrong and harm, being

empowered to punish them for doing wrong as well. With a government fully imbued with the spirit of Peaceful Progress and National Growth through internal development rather superficial expansion, we hold that Twenty millions per annum might be saved from our present aggregate Military and Naval expenditure.—*Tribune*, January 17, 1859.

What H. G. Thinks of the Moral Atmosphere of Washington City.

"In the great Northern uprising of 1854 against the Nebraska Iniquity it happened that John A. Gurley, of Cincinnati, Ohio, was made a Republican candidate for Congress. Now the said Gurley was (or rather had been) a Universalist preacher, so a Democrat of the Methodist persuasion thought he could make a point with a good brother who inclined to Republicanism by pressing the *odium theologicum* against the candidate aforesaid: 'Do you know,' said he, 'brother Ringletub, that this man Gurley don't believe in any hell?' 'Is it possible?' was the horrified response: 'Well, (after a pause for reflection,) just send him to Washington for a couple of years and he will be convinced there is a hell; or if not, that there will have to be one made; that there is no getting on without it.'"—*Tribune*, November 6, 1869.

What H. G. Knows about the Prosecution of Claims before Congress.

"I would hardly go so far as a Late Secretary of the Treasury, who, after ten or twelve years' service in one House after the other, gave it as his deliberate judgment that it were better that claims on the Government should be conclusively passed upon by the inmates of any of our State Prisons than by Congress; but my observations tend that way. Whoever has watched the daily sittings through even one session must have perceived that.

"No general interest is manifested in the settlement of claims by the Members. Private bill days are always idle days with a large proportion. You will meet them on the Avenue or at the Departments; the House Post Office and other smoking-rooms in the Capitol will be full of them; and not more than a hundred on an average will be giving any sort of heed to the character of the bills under discussion. Of course accident or private interest goes very far in making the decision."—*Tribune*, April 15, 1856.

What H. G. Knows about Lawyers in Congress or State Legislatures.

"Undoubtedly the profession of the law has at present one great advantage over the profession of a politician. There once was, ages ago, a time when it was considered base and detestable for a man to sell for money to the most scandalous of criminals and the most impudent of cheats his countenance, his friendship, his intimacy, the utmost efforts of all his talents, skill and learning, to save a villain from the gallows or the prison, which his crimes had richly merited, or to enable him to cheat some widow or orphan out of their patrimony and livelihood. This romantic and antiquated sentiment of decency and self-respect has, however, long since disappeared. For lawyers to league themselves for money with the most consummate of scoundrels, to become, as it were, accessories after the fact to the greatest of crimes and villainies by their paid labors in shielding the perpetrators from detection and punishment, or from being obliged to disgorge their dishonest gains—all this has become a regular business transaction, and the lawyer shares the spoils of the murderer and the robber, and pockets the fee stained with the blood and wet with the tears of some wretched victim of fraud or force from whom his client had just before extorted it, with no less satisfaction than he puts into his pocket also the last dollar of the poor deluded victim, who, having been plundered or cheated of the greater part of his property by some unprofessional rogue, spends the miserable remnant of it in the vain and deceptive pursuit of legal redress. No clergyman ever sits in the British House of Commons; by some of our State Constitutions no clergyman can sit in either branch of the Legislature. It might, perhaps, be worth while to consider whether a similar exclusion might not be advantageously extended to the legal profession."—*Tribune*, April 14, 1856.

What H. G. Knows about Mixing Liquors, Beer, and Ale.

"Mixing liquors increases their malignity, and no one, unless it be the brutifying abomination called Beer or Ale, is so virulent as a medley of three or four varieties or species. For a headache that will last, a Cold that takes hold of the bones, a rheumatism that will never let up, an internal inflammation that needs no medical malpractice to render it fatal, the usual course of eating and drinking on a round of New Year's Calls is the most effectual preparation."—*Tribune*, December 30, 1850.

What H. G. Knows about Drinking Wines and Malt Liquors.

"The difference between Fermented and Distilled liquors is one purely of degree. While the different kinds of Beer contain from one-twenty-fifth up to one-fourteenth of alcohol, and the

Fermented Grape Wines from one-tenth to one-fourth, the Distilled Liquors are generally a little more than half alcohol. * * * They greatly mistake who in this country hope to live longer by drinking Wines or Malt Liquors than they would expect to if addicted instead to Distilled Spirits. True there is less Alcohol in the same quantity of the Fermented beverages, but the same quantity will not content them. Deceive themselves as they may, it is the Alcoholic stimulus that their depraved appetites exact, and if indulged at all, they will be indulged to the constantly receding point of satisfaction. The single glass of Wine or Beer per day, which sufficed at the beginning, will soon be enlarged or repeated. It was enough to start the blood into a gallop yesterday, but falls short to-day, and will not begin to do to-morrow; and even were the fact otherwise the Wines and Malt liquors drank in this country are nearly all so adulterated that drinking them would be foolhardy even if those liquids, when pure, were naturally wholesome, instead of being the poisons they are known to be."—*Hints toward Reform*, page 260.

What H. G. Knows about the Poison in Lager Beer.

"We Temperance men rest our cause on the simple, scientific truth that Alcohol is essentially a poison, and that all substances containing Alcohol are consequently baleful to the healthy human system. We do not assume that a glass of Lager or of Cider is as injurious as a glass of Whisky or Gin, because it contains a far less quantity of Alcohol; but we insist that an ounce of alcohol is just as hurtful when diffused through six glasses of Lager as when imbibed in two glasses of Rum or Brandy. We perceive therefore no safe ground whereon to discriminate between one alcoholic beverage and another."—*Tribune*, May 2, 1871.

What H. G. Knows about the Enforcement of Sunday Laws.

"It rests on that majority of our people who respect the Sabbath to say whether the reform which has been effected shall be maintained. Let the New Police be broken down and Wood once more master, and the floodgates of moral ruin will inevitably be re-opened on each returning Sabbath. For if he triumphs, it can only be through the favor, the money, and the efforts of the liquor men, who will work not for him but for themselves. They will spend their money lavishly in his behalf, but only to have it returned to them with interest. They now profess their willingness to obey the laws respecting the Sabbath, but they will change their tune the moment they find themselves triumphant; or rather, the more reckless will sell more and more openly, and the more cautious will gradually follow suit, until we shall have five thousand drunkard factories in full blast every Sabbath."—*Tribune*, July 29, 1857.

"We presume all our readers are aware that our City has laws designed to protect the public and private devotions of its citizens from desecration and disturbance on the first day of the week, that being the day set apart for rest and worship by a large majority of our people. They know also that the prosecution of any business in the streets, especially by outcry or proclamation, the opening of stores, houses of entertainment, &c., are direct and flagrant violations of these laws.

"And they know, moreover, that the City is constantly paying Salaries to a number of officers appointed expressly to enforce these laws. Each one of them who allows papers to be howled, or goods to be displayed, or grog-shops to be open on Sunday within his district, forfeits all claim to payment, and ought to be discharged immediately."—*Tribune*, July 15, 1842.

What H. G. Knows about Distillers.

"But what shall we think of him, who, laboring under no such fierce goadings of a depraved appetite, deliberately devotes his best energies to the manufacture or dispensation of this deadliest enemy of the Human Race—who makes the creating, feeding, inflaming of this dreadful propensity to drink the chief business of his life, the means of his subsistence and the source of his wealth and enjoyments? Can language adequately portray the horrors of this manufacture and traffic? O, if the distiller or liquor-dealer could see the long procession of his victims stalk by in grim array, each looking him sadly, searchingly in the face, he would, he must abandon forever a business so horribly desolating! For they are men as we are, and could not persist in filling the land with Pauperism, Disease, Strife, Agony, and Murder, if they but realized how much of all the evil and woe in the land would disappear forever if an end were put to the use of Intoxicating Liquors. We know there are some who feel and say that their rule is to 'Look out for Number One,' and that others must take care of themselves or meet the consequences. Alas! the consequences are not confined to those who refuse to take care of themselves; but wives, children, friends, are involved in the general devastation. And nine-tenths of these who make and sell liquors have no more adequate conception of the evil and wrong they are doing than had those who fitted out slave-ships and privateers a century ago. They need to be appealed to, reasoned with, until the depth of the inquiry shall be made manifest even to the most stolid or stubborn, and none shall have the Law's countenance as an excuse for their guilt."—*Tribune*, December 30, 1846.

What H. G. Knows about the Judges of the Supreme Court.

"Three of the Judges of the Supreme Court are relics of the old pro-Slavery era, when to doubt the divinity of Slavery was to be excluded from office. They were appointed, like Taney, for their fidelity to the man-owning aristocracy of the South, and have survived in their places on the bench without change in their political sentiments, while the aristocracy which appointed them has been hurled from power, and shivered into a thousand fragments. But they still worship at the ruins of their ancient altars, and call those ruins 'the Constitution.' They read the Constitution through the spectacles of Calhoun, and find its leading idea to be the sovereignty of the Southern States over the National Government, and of their ancient aristocracy over the Southern States. Two more of the Judges are somewhat mixed in their political views, but their antecedents are with the pro-Slavery element."—*Tribune*, January 18, 1868.

What H. G. Knows about Encouraging Chinese Emigration.

"We heartily approve of obeying the laws of the land, whereof our treaties with foreign powers are a part. The Burlingame treaty prescribes the treatment to be accorded to Chinese who come to our country and our people who migrate to or visit China. We insist on the faithful observance of that treaty on all hands. If we shall exclude and expel Chinese from this country, how can we object to the exclusion and expulsion of our Missionaries, traders, &c., from China? How justify our recent raid on Coreans? We believe in the Golden Rule. We hope the effect of Chinese immigration on the common laborers of this country will be to render them more diligent, persevering, temperate, and frugal than they now are; many of them sadly need amendment in these respects, and the average Chinaman sets them an excellent example, which they will do well to heed. He doesn't waste his time and means in suicidal strikes; he doesn't attempt to kill either the man who chooses not to hire him at his own price or him who accepts the work which 'John' sees fit to decline. On the whole, it seems to us that every class of our people would be benefited by the presence and example of John Chinaman on our soil, and we propose that he shall come if he chooses, and stay in peace if he behaves himself. That's all."—*Tribune*, July 31, 1871.

What H. G. Knows about Dancing.

"We trust the tract on dancing which will receive the premium will consider thoroughly the subject; show how and why the popular abomination of dancing in hot, crowded rooms, from fair bed-time to daylight, with a hot and heavy supper after midnight, alternating in flimsy garments from an atmosphere of frost to one of steam, tricked out for Vanity-Fair, and mixed up with all sorts of company, ought to be condemned and shunned, not only by devout christians but by all considerate human beings."—*Tribune*, April 16, 1846.

What H. G. Knew about the Annexation of San Domingo.

"We believe that the people of San Domingo would be greatly benefited by the annexation of the little republic to the United States. We believe *they* think so, or soon will—that annexation is their manifest destiny. And we are quite willing that our Government shall say, in such a fashion as may seem best, that whenever they shall evince a wish to share our future fortunes we will gladly receive them."—*Tribune*, February 19, 1869.

What H. G. Knows about American Cooking.

"As a general rule, in the country there is nothing fit to eat. First as to breakfast. The Coffee is simply slops, though nothing is easier than to make a good cup of coffee. There should be very little water to it, and much pure milk or cream to dilute it, of which last items there ought to be an overflow in the country. The tea may be generally better than the coffee, but it is sufficiently bad and unfit to drink. Then on the breakfast-table there is a chaos of crude dishes, when some two or three things at most, well cooked, are ample. The bread is too often sodden, the butter too much like tallow; then there is a mess of tough meat, greased and cooked to the consistency of sole-leather: a general horror of hot cakes, pies, and heaven knows what all, sufficient to repel, but not to invite appetite! If this rampant, multitudinous array of a breakfast table came of poverty, we would have nothing to say about it—but it is simply the product of ignorance. There is generally an excess on the table, an extract of which excess might be, and would be fit to eat if there was anything like discreet preparation of food—but there is not. Housewives in the country, take our advice. Buy a cook-book and learn to cook, and don't spread your breakfast-table with a chaotic mass of indigestible, repulsive crudities. Have little, but have it good—a dish to put before a king, and then it is fit to put before yourself, and not otherwise. Reform your cooking. It is simply savage."—*Tribune*, November 24, 1856

What H. G. Knows about attempting to Persuade Slaveholders.

"I tried more than twenty-five years ago to 'persuade' two slaveholders that their system was unjust and pernicious, and their reply was an attempt to persuade me off a dock into thirty feet water, which I was barely able with help to prevent. Long after that, I tried to persuade another slaveholder (son of a life-long negro-trader, and now himself a Rebel General) that he had made an unfair proposition in Congress, and he replied by attempting to persuade a hole into the top of my skull, and my brains out through that hole. That is all my personal experience on the subject; but I have very often been assured (no doubt truly) that if I should ever go South and attempt there to persuade people that Slavery was wrong, I should very soon have the breath of life persuaded out of my body."—*Tribune*, May 8, 1863.

What H. G. Knows about The Fisheries.

"Speaking for ourselves only, we may here observe that we regard fishing as capital sport but a very unprofitable vocation, and we believe our country would have been this day stronger and richer if no Yankee fisher had sailed eastward of the St. John since 1783. If we were never again to drop a line for cod or mackerel eastward of the Penobscot, we believe could not fail to employ their time to better purpose."—*Tribune*, June 4, 1869.

What H. G. Knows about Begging Offices for His Friends.

Mr. Greeley has constantly denounced Office-Seeking in *The Tribune*, declaring that every Office Seeker who has failed to get a place is better off than those who have succeeded, as 'there is no need of seeking these Custom-House places, or places in the Post Office, or the Internal Revenue, if men have only the pluck.' Yet the files of the various Departments of the Federal Government at Washington contain scores of applications in Mr. Greeley's well-known handwriting, asking that his political or personal friends be appointed to or retained in office. Some of these appointments have been asked from the present Administration on political grounds, others to conciliate the German or the Irish voters of New York city. In one letter, Mr. Greeley takes credit to himself for not having made himself 'a chronic nuisance' at the Bureau, to the head of which it was addressed, although the files show that during that year (1869) he had made or indorsed ten applications for appointments from that very Bureau. Yet the Public has been informed that to the far greater number of our young men a year in jail would work less injury than six months in office.

What H. G. Knows about Gifts made to Great Men.

"We shall hardly be accused of any special regard for Mr. Webster by those who know us, but we must think this subscription, if completed, highly honorable to him and to the liberality of the Contributors. Here is a man of mighty intellectual power able to earn a large income in the practice of his profession. This he is required in great part to surrender in devoting himself to public affairs, for which he is entitled to receive perhaps one-eighth of the sum he could make at the Bar. At the same time his very eminence attracts crowds of visitors whom he will entertain, subjects him to a vast correspondence and other expenses. If there are wealthy and liberal citizens who, seeing all this, and who, believing that he may be driven from a public sphere in which his country needs him to supply the pressing needs of his family, or actuated by a simple sense of justice, choose to contribute and provide a liberal income for his family, leaving him free to follow the path of public duty to which he is called, we say the circumstance is honorable to him and to them, and we envy neither the understanding nor the heart of the cavalier who can find in it ground of reproach to either."—*Tribune*, March 3, 1845.

"Mr. Clay, who has not for many years incurred nor owed a debt on his own account, had involved himself by indorsing for a relative who became deeply embarrassed and failed. The debts came upon Mr. Clay to such an extent that his property must have been swept away to pay them. The circumstances came to the knowledge of some of Mr. Clay's Political friends and admirers, (few of whom knew him personally,) and they quietly subscribed the sum necessary to relieve him from embarrassment. The first intimation he had of it was by the return of his canceled notes."—*Tribune*, May 3, 1845.

What H. G. Knows about Gen. Grant's Chances in the Canvass.

"The record of Gen. Grant is the most glorious chapter of our history. Whatever may be his politics, no citizen can be insensible to Grant's merits or the lustre of his name. In knowing Grant we know ourselves. Like Tennyson's great Duke, he stands before us 'great in saving common-sense and in simplicity sublime.' The conqueror of Lee is bidden forth to conquer Lee's remaining allies, and as the canvass deepens and ripens it will be found, we think, that our candidate will win to his standard a large part of the party known as 'War Democrats.'"—*Tribune*, May 25, 1868.

What H. G. Knew about Gen. Grant and the Gold Gamblers.

"The insinuation that the President was in collusion with the Gold Gamblers never had a fact to lift it above the level of audacious calumny, or a motive save the coarsest sensationalism or clumsy malignity. There was a combination to put gold up. When it assumed dangerous proportions General Grant interfered and crushed it. Thereupon he is charged with having been a member of it! The country knows its President to be incapable of such conduct. If it did not it would still be able in so plain a case to reason that men are not secretly seeking that which they openly, determinedly, and effectively destroy. By their fruits ye shall know them."—*Tribune*, October 18, 1869.

What H. G. Knows about Gen. Grant's Official Action.

"We are impelled to say that the treatment of the President and his Administration by the self-styled 'independent Republican press' has for months been ungenerous and unjust. We have had greater Presidents than Gen. Grant, but scarcely one who less deserved the running fire of invidious carping and fault-finding to which he has been subjected by those 'independent' oracles. We will instance the Santo Domingo and the Ku-Klux topics to illustrate our meaning.

"Santo Domingo, through its only rulers, sought our Government, and preferred Annexation. The President gave no encouragement, till after an interval of months the proffer was renewed, and action upon it urgently solicited. Then the President looked carefully into the matter, and decided that our country's well-being would be promoted by our acceptance of Baez's proposition. Perhaps this was an error of judgment, though we cannot so regard it. Had he decided differently, we believe the President would have been far more vehemently assailed than he has been. Just consider what a Democratic howl would have gone up if, after we had offered so many millions for Cuba, Gen. Grant had refused to accept San Domingo virtually for nothing.

"Then as to the Ku-Klux legislation, and all Executive action tending thereto or based thereon, we hold the Administration most unfairly treated by most of the 'independents.' The President is bound by a solemn oath to support the Constitution, enforce the laws, and protect the rights and liberties of the People.

"Such are the convictions that impel us to say, as we feel, that the 'independent' press treats the Administration harshly, captiously, unjustly. We would fain induce its conductors to reconsider and modify their course. They may fancy that they are only disparaging and weakening Gen. Grant, but they are in fact undermining and subverting the Republican party."—*Tribune*, May 5, 1871.

What H. G. Knows about the Choice to be Made by the People.

"It seems almost impossible that the people should hesitate between the leader of the Union Armies, Gen. Grant, and the leader of the Northern Demagogues. We must not, however, give the enemy strength by depreciating him. In a fair canvass before the American people, the issues all presented; the platforms discussed, the principles thoroughly understood, Gen. Grant would probably carry nearly every State in the Union. The Democracy, however, may, through our apathy, steal a victory which they have not strength to win. The dormant power of the rebellion is very strong. It is intrepid, eager and audacious in the Rebel States, where our main reliance is upon the votes of the freedmen. The negroes have shown themselves worthy of confidence, but with their newly-gained privileges they walk as men who have not opened their eyes. They need aid, instruction, and comforting assurances of help. Above all things they need to be instructed, so that from reason they may vote, as many of them do now from the instincts of self-preservation."—*Tribune*, July 15, 1868.

What H. G. Knows the Volunteers will do in the Political Campaign.

"The one circumstance that must weigh heavily against the Democrats in this canvass is their substantial identification in sympathy and ideas with the crushed Rebellion. The Volunteers form an element of the canvass not to be despised. They are more than One Million today; they are generally proud of their agency in putting down the Rebellion, and indisposed to vote with its partisans. Called to choose between their General-in-Chief and a 'Peace' Copperhead it will be difficult for many of them to cast their votes for the latter. We doubt that half so many will do so as now permit themselves to be accounted Democrats. 'Rally round the flag' is stirring exhortation, which few, who have honorable discharges, can withstand."—*Tribune*, April 14, 1868.

"A stirring address has been issued by the Convention of the Republican Soldiers and Sailors to their late comrades-in-arms throughout the country, pointing out the good work which has been done by the present Congress, and urging unanimity and vigor in the forthcoming campaign to insure the election of Gen. Grant, that the restoration of an era of peace and prosperity may not be delayed."—*Tribune*, July 3, 1868.

